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## ITERATIVES, BLENDS, AND "STRECKFORMEN"

One of the oldest methods of expressing continuation or emphasis is iteration.<sup>1</sup> This may consist of the repetition of a clause, a phrase, or a word or part of a word. In the modern Germanic languages such repetitions are very common, especially in popular usage. They fall naturally into the classes given below.<sup>2</sup>

### I. REPETITION OF THE SAME FORM

1. *Chim-chim* 'talk in a longwinded, undecided way' : *chim* 'take by small portions, eat nicely' Wr.
2. *Choo-choo*, word used by little children to designate a train of cars, in imitation of the noise made by the engine.
3. *Gee-gee* 'horse' : *gee*, used by teamsters to their animals in directing them to the right Sl.
4. *How-how* 'a charwoman, an untidy, slovenly woman' Wr.
5. *Pum-pum* 'fiddler' Sl. : perhaps suggested by *pummel* 'beat.'
6. *Quit-quit* 'the note of the swallow' Wr.
7. *Shally-shally* 'irresolutely' : *shall I?* Cent.

<sup>1</sup> For examples see Brugmann, *Gdr. der vergl. Gram.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 56 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Examples have been taken from the following sources, thus abbreviated: B. = Boekenooogen, *De Zaansehe Volkstaal*, Leiden 1897.—B.-L. = Barrère and Leland, *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant*.—Cent. = *The Century Dictionary*, 10 vols. and 2 new vols.—C. en V. = *Idioticon van het Antwerpsch Dialect opgesteld door P. J. Cornelissen en J. B. Versliet*.—Dial. Notes = *Publications of the American Dial. Soc.*—Fr. = Frischbier, *Preussisches Wörterbuch*.—Irwin, Wallace, in his Japanese letters.—Jam. = Jamieson, *Etymological Dict. of the Scottish Language*.—Koolman, J. ten Doornkaat, *Wb. der ostfries. Sprache*.—Schr. = Heinr. Schröder, *Streckformen*, Heidelberg 1906.—Sl. = Farmer and Henley, *Slang and Its Analogues*.—Sundén, K. = *Contributions to the Study of Elliptical Words in English*, Upsala 1904.—Wr. = Wright, *The English Dial. Dict.* Other examples, where the source is not indicated, I have heard myself.

8. *Talky-talky* 'chatter' Sl. : *talk*.
9. *Thud-thudding* 'noise made by galloping horses' Caroline K. Duer (quoted by Leon Mead, *Word-Coinage*, 144).
10. *Tom-tom* 'in India, the drum (*tamtam*) used by musicians, jugglers, etc.' Cent.
11. *Yum-yum* 'first-rate, elegant' B.-L., also used to imitate the sound of chewing a delicious morsel.
12. *Zing-zing* 'telephone' *Harper's Mag.*, December, 1910, p. 100.
13. *Zu-zu* 'the Zouave contingent in the Union Army during the Civil War' Sl. Here only a part of the word is repeated.
14. *Hupphupp* 'Wiedehopf, nach seinem Geschrei *hupp hupp*' Fr. Cf. the similar repetition in Lat. *upupa*.
15. *Kirrie-kirrie*, *kri-kri* 'net aan, nog juist, ternauwernood' B. Cf. Groning. *kar-kar*, *kar* 'niet geheel, bijna, nauwelijks' Molema.
16. *Kiskis* 'broodsop' B.
17. *Koeskoes* 'een mengsel van witte kool, haverdegort, spek en melk,' 'a porridge of cabbage, oatmeal, bacon, and milk' B.
18. *Taai-taai* 'zekere soort van bruine, zeer taaie koek, die van roggemeel en strop gebakken wordt in den vorm van het sinterklaasgoed,' 'kind of tough cake' B. : *taai* 'tough.'
19. *Wauwau* 'Hund in der Kindersprache' Fr. Cf. WFlem. *bauwbauw* and NE. *bow-wow*.

Other examples might be given from other dialects.

## II. REPETITION WITH ABLAUT

Examples of this class are so numerous that I have taken them only from English and East Friesian. In popular English, at least, they may be formed at will, almost any word with *i* or *a* (i.e., *æ* or *a*) being used as a basis. This, the most common variation, comes from the third ablaut-series, as in *sink* : *sank*. This variation may exist in the simple words of the compound, as *jingle-jangle*, No. 46, or it may occur only in the compound, as *kiddle-kaddle* 'dawdling' from *kiddle* 'dawdle,' No. 47, or *kiddle-kaddle* 'confusion' from *caddle* 'confusion,' No. 48.

1. *Bit-bat* 'bat' : *bat* Wr.

2. *Chick-chack(er)* 'saxicola oenanthe' Wr.
3. *Chiff-chaff* 'chaffinch' Wr.
4. *Chim-cham*, same as *chim-chim* Wr., No. I, 1.
5. *Chit-chat* 'small talk, chatter': *chat* Wr.
6. *Clap-clopping* (of a horse's hoofs) 'clattering' *Harper's Mag.*, December, 1910 : *clap*.
7. *Click-clack* 'chit-chat': *click+clack*.
8. *Cling-clang* 'a clanging': *clang*.
9. *Clinkum-clankum* 'repeated ringing strokes': *clink+clank* Cent.
10. *Clish-clash, clishmaclash* 'silly talk': *clash* Cent.
11. *Crick-crack* 'talk, chat': *crack* Wr.
12. *Crickle-crackle* 'crackle; crackling': *crackle*.
13. *Crim-cram* 'crevice' Wr. : *cram* 'fold, wrinkle' Wr.
14. *Crink-crank* 'long words not properly understood' Wr.
15. *Crinkum-crankum* 'any engineering or mechanical device or toy; knick-knack' Wr.
16. *Crisscross* 'a congeries of intersecting lines; intersect frequently' Cent. : *cross*.
17. *Dilly-dally* 'loiter, delay, trifle': *dally* Cent.
18. *Dingle-dangle* 'in a dangling manner': *dingle+dangle* Cent.
19. *Ding-dangles* 'hanging beads or other finery' Wr., Dan, *dingel-dangel* 'Baumel': *dingle+dangle*.
20. *Ding-dong* 'the sound of a bell' (Dan. *dingdang*, Swed. *dingdang, dingelidang*): *ding* 'beat, strike' Cent.
21. *Driggle-draggle* 'slovenly; sloven': *driggle* 'fall in drops, trickle'+*draggle* 'drabble' Wr.
22. *Fic-fac, fig-fag, fix-faz* 'the tendon of the neck' Wr.
23. *Fiddle-faddle* 'toy, trifle; talk nonsense': *fiddle* 'dawdle'+*faddle* 'trifle, toy; dawdle' Wr.
24. *Fid-fad* 'fastidious person,' *fiddy-faddy* 'fastidious, over-nice': *fad* Wr.
25. *Fifle-fafflement* 'trifling and unnecessary work': *fafflement*, same, *faffle* 'trifle; fumble' Wr.
26. *Fike-fack, fick-fack* 'a troublesome finicking job; needless bustle,' *fike-ma-facks* 'nonsense, silly, trifling sayings': *fike, fick* 'move restlessly, fidget; kick, struggle; trouble, vex; trifle, flirt' Wr.

27. *Filly-fally* 'idle, dilly-dally' : perhaps *fal-* in *fal-de-ral*, *fal-lal* 'nonsense, trifling.'

28. *Fimble-famble* 'a lame excuse, a prevaricating answer' Sl.: *fimble* 'touch lightly'+*famble* 'stutter, gabble' Wr.

29. *Fish-fash* 'fuss, bother' : *fash* 'trouble, disturbance' Wr.

30. *Fifty-flaff* 'fluttering' : *flaff* 'flutter, flap' Wr.

31. *Flim-flam* 'idle talk, nonsense' : *flim* 'whim; illusion'+*flam* 'sham story, nonsense, humbug, flattery.'

32. *Flip-flap* 'a flighty creature' Sl. : *flip*+*flap*.

33. *Flipper-de-flapper* 'noise, confusion' : *flipper* 'flutter, swing'+*flap* Wr.

34. *Frim-fram* 'trifle, whim' : *fram* 'be fractious or peevish' Wr.

35. *Frimple-frample* 'in a confused tangled manner' : *frample* 'put in disorder' Wr.

36. *Frip-fraps* 'crackers, which leap about when exploding' : *frap* 'strike, rap; snap, fizz' Wr.

37. *Gibble-gabble* 'gabble, nonsense' : *gabble* Sl.

38. *Glibber-glabber* 'talk idly and confusedly; sb. frivolous and confused talk' : *glabber* 'chatter, gabble; coax, wheedle,' *glab* 'foolish, idle talk' Wr. (MHG. *er-glaffen* 'betören, berauschen,' *ver-glabet* 'sinnlos, ohne Verstand,' ON. *glópr* 'idiot' etc.).

39. *Glim-glam* 'the game of Blindman's buff' : *glim* 'dim, blind' Wr.

40. *Gweek-gwak* 'the noise or squeak of boots' Wr.

41. *Higgle-haggle* 'haggle' : *higgle*+*haggle* Cent.

42. *Hip-hop* 'with a hopping gait,' *hippety-hop(pety)* 'hopping and skipping' Cent. : *hop*.

43. *Imble-amble* 'ambling,' in a nursery rime : *amble*.

44. *Jig-jog* 'a jolting motion, jog' : *jig*+*jog* Cent.

45. *Jim-jam* 'jimerack, knick-knack,' *jimjams* 'delirium tremens' : *jim-* in jimerack Cent.

46. *Jingle-jangle* 'anything that jingles; a jingling sound' : *jingle*+*jangle* Cent.

47. *Kiddle-kaddle* 'slow, dawdling' Wr.; *kiddle* 'dawdle, loiter' Wr.

48. *Kiddle-kaddle* 'mess, confusion' Wr.: *caddle* 'confusion,



disorder' Wr. These two entirely distinct words are made, the one from *kiddle*, the other from *caddle*.

49. *kim-kam*, *-cam* 'awry, perverse,' *vb.* 'bicker, argue, retort': *cam* 'crooked, perverse, obstinate,' *vb.* 'cross, contradict, bicker, argue' Wr.

50. *Kingle-kangle* 'loud, confused, and ill-natured talk' : *cangle* 'quarrel, wrangle, haggle' Wr.

51. *Knick-knack* 'trifle, trinket, toy' : *knack* 'dexterity; ingenious trifle, toy' Cent.

52. *Miff-maff* 'nonsense, rot' Sl. : *miff* 'a petty quarrel.'

53. *Mingle-mangle* 'medley, confused mixture,' *adj.* 'irregular, confused,' *ming-mang* 'confusion' : *mingle* Wr.

54. *Mixie-maxie*, *mixter-maxter* 'heterogeneous mixture' Wr.: *mix*, *mixture*.

55. *Mizmaze* 'maze, labyrinth' Sl., 'confusion, bewilderment; giddy, confused' Wr. : *maze*.

56. *Muxter-maxter* 'a confused heap' Wr. : *mux* 'mix confusedly.'

57. *Nibble-nabble* 'do anything by pieces' Wr. : *nibble*.

58. *Niddle-noddle* 'do anything in a dreamy, bewildered way, dawdle': *noddle* 'nod' Wr. Cf. *nid-nod* 'nod.'

59. *Niddy-noddy* 'simpleton' : *noddy*, same Wr.

60. *Niff-naff* 'a trifling thing, knick-knack; a small person; fussiness of disposition,' *niffy-naffy* 'an insignificant, fussy person': *naff* 'work in a weak, trifling manner, trifle; walk with short steps' Wr.

61. *Niggedy-naggety* 'irritable' : *nigg* 'fret'+*nag* 'fret' Wr.

62. *Piddle-paddle* 'very poor ale' Wr.

63. *Pimple-pamples* 'an imaginary disease' : *pimping*, *pimpy* 'small, paltry, sickly'+*pample* 'pamper' Wr.

64. *Pinkle-pankle* 'make a tinkling sound,' MLG. *pinkepanken* 'taktmässig mit dem Schmiedehammer schlagen': E. *pink* 'hit, strike, puncture,' LG. *pinken* 'hämmern, schmieden.'

65. *Pitpat*, *pitapat*, *pitypat*, *pitter-patter* 'a light quick step, a pattering' Cent. : *pat*, *patter*. Cf. also early E. *pitter* 'murmur, patter.'

66. *Plish-plash* 'splash' : *plash* Wr.

67. *Plit-plat* 'expressive of the sound made by a horse's hoofs as it trots along the road' Wr.

68. *Prittle-prattle* 'childish talk' : *prattle* Wr.
69. *Rick-rack* 'a kind of openwork trimming made by hand, with needle and thread, out of a narrow zigzag braid' : *rack* 'a grating or open framework of bars, wires, or pegs' Cent.
70. *Riffraff* 'scraps, refuse, trash; rabble' : ME. *rif* and *raf*, OFr. *rif* et *raf*, *rifler*, *raffler* Cent.
71. *Rimble-ramble* 'nonsense; nonsensical' Sl. : *ramble* 'show a lack of definite direction or arrangement.'
72. *Riprap* 'broken stones used for walls, beds, and foundations' Cent.
73. *Rittle-rattle* 'rattle' : *rattle* Wr.
74. *See-saw* 'move backward and forward, or upward and downward' : *saw* Cent.
75. *Scriff-scruff* 'odds and ends, rubbish' : *scroff*, same Wr.
76. *Scrittle-scrattle* 'a difficulty in making both ends meet' ('a scrimping and scraping') : *scrattle* 'scratch, scrape and save, labor hard,' with which cf. *scruttle* 'scrape together, save money with difficulty' Wr.
77. *Shilly-shally* 'act in an irresolute and undecided manner, hesitate' : *shally-shally* Cent. Cf. No. I, 7.
78. *Skimble-skamble* 'rigmarole, nonsense' Sl.
79. *Slipslap*, *slipslop* 'go slipping and slapping'; 'weak and sloppy' drink'; 'slipshod, slovenly' : *slip+slap* or *slop* Cent.
80. *Snick-snack* 'equal shares' : *snack* 'share, equal portion' Wr.
81. *Snip-snap* 'a tart dialogue with quick replies' Cent.: *snip+snap*.
82. *Snipper-snapper* 'whipper-snapper' Cent.
83. *Teeter-totter* 'see-saw' : *teeter+totter*.
84. *Teeny-tony*, *teenty-tony*, diminutive of *tiny* Dial. Notes.
85. *Tittle-tattle* 'trifling talk' : *tattle* Cent.
86. *Tick-tack*, *tick-tock* 'a pulsating sound like that made by a clock or watch' : *tick* Cent.
87. *Trim-tram* 'trifle, absurdity, folly' Sl. : *trim* 'dress, trapping, ornament.'
88. *Tringum-trangum* 'whim, fancy' Sl. : *trang(r)am*, *trankum* 'trumpetry, trash,' *trink* 'a trick or fancy,' dial. *trinkums* 'trinkets' Cent.

89. *Twiddle-twaddle* 'gabble, twaddle' : *twaddle* 'senseless talk.'  
 90. *Whim-wham* 'trinket, trifle; rubbish, nonsense' Sl. : *whim*.  
 91. *Wibble-wobble* 'unsteadily' Sl. : *wobble, wabble* 'a rocking, unequal motion.'

92. *Wig-wag* 'move to and fro' : *wag* Cent.

93. *Wish-wash* 'a thin, sloppy drink,' *wishy-washy* 'thin and weak, sloppy' : *wash* Cent.

For East Fries. the following are given by Koolman:

94. *Bim-bam*, 'vom Anschlagen der Glocken,' *bum-bam* 'deutet das dumpfere Getön' einer grösseren Glocke an; 'Schaukel, Schwebel,' *bumbammen* 'hin u. herschlagen, schaukeln' : *bimmeln, bammeln, bummeln*.

95. *Dindan, dindanner* 'einer, der einen schwankenden, unsicheren, watschelnden Gang hat,' *dindannen* 'sich beim Gehen hin u. her bewegen' : NE. *dandle* 'play with, fondle, toss,' NHG. *tändeln* etc.

96. *Flik-flak* 'klipp-klapp,' *flik-flakken* 'Schläge od. Klapse geben' : *flik* 'Schlag, Klapps.'

97. *Hik-hak* 'Zänker,' *hik-hakken* 'wiederholt hacken' : *hikken + hakken* 'hacken.'

98. *Himp-hamp* 'Stümper, Hinkender, Humpler,' *himp-hampen* 'hinken, humpeln' : *gehampel* 'Gezappel' etc. Cf. NE. dial. *himp* 'limp.'

99. *Klik-klak* 'klipp-klapp' : *klik + klak*.

100. *Klip-klap* : *klappern*.

101. *Knip-knap* : *knappen* 'knacken.'

102. *Krits-krats* 'Kritz-kratz,' *krits-kratsen* 'kratzend kritzeln od. kritzeln kratzen, kratzend u. kreischend gleiten' : NHG. *kratzen*.

103. *Lüb-lab, lif-laf* 'fades geschmackloses Essen; leeres Geschwätz,' Du. *liflaf* 'geschmacklos, schal, fade,' 'dummes Zeug; geschmacklose Speise,' *liflaffen* 'auf alberne Weise liebkosten' : *laf* 'schlaff, matt, fade.'

104. *Pill-pallen* 'plaudern, schwatzen' : *pillern + pallen* 'schwatzen.'

105. *Rik-rak* 'Bewegung hin u. her,' *rik-rakken* 'hin u. her bewegen od. stossen, wiegen, wackeln' : *rikken* '(sich) hin u. her bewegen.'

106. *Ruk-rakken* 'hin u. her bewegen' : *rukken, rükken* 'rücken, rücken,' NE. *rock*.

107. *Snik-snak* 'Schnickschnack' : *snak* 'Geschwätz,' cf. also *snikken* 'schluchzen.'

108. *Stip-stap* 'Doppel-Tritt,' *stip-stappen* 'mit einem Fuss hierhin u. mit dem andern Fuss dahin treten' : *stap* 'Tritt, Schritt,' *stappen* 'treten.'

109. *Swibbel-swabbel-ful* 'zum Überlaufen voll' : *swibbeln+swabbeln* (*swubbeln*) 'sich hin u. her bewegen, wogen.'

110. *Tik-tak*: *tikken* 'ticken; leise anstossen od. berühren.'

111. *Tir-tarren, tir-targen* 'anhaltend od. wiederholt necken u. plagen' : *targen* 'necken.'

112. *Trip-trap* 'Bezeichnung des wechselweisen Niedersetzens beider Füße nebst dem dadurch verursachten Schall' : *trippeln+trap* 'Tritt.'

113. *Wip-wap* 'Schaukel' : *wip* 'Gerät, das hin u. her od. auf u. nieder schwebt od. schwingt,' *wippen* 'auf u. nieder schweben machen'+*wappen* 'auf u. nieder bewegen.'

### III. ITERATIVE COMPOUNDS OF SYNONYMOUS WORDS

Compounds of this class are very common, and occur also in the older periods. E.g. *bring*, pre-Germ. \**bhrenkō* : *bh(e)re* 'bear' +*en(e)k* 'bear, carry' (Brugmann, *IF.*, XII, 155 ff.); Gk. *δεν-δίλλω* 'turn the eyes about, glance at' : *δονέω* 'shake, stir'+OE. *tilian* 'strive after,' OHG. *zilen* 'sich beeilen, eifrig streben nach,' Gk. *δίεμαι* 'hasten'; Gk. *δνο-παλίζω* 'swing, fling about' : *δονέω* 'shake'+*πάλλω* 'shake, brandish'; Gk. *δαρ-δάπτω* 'devour' : *δέρω* 'flay' ('tear')+*δάπτω* 'rend,' Lat. *daps* 'meal' (author, *Pub. MLA.*, XIV, 335); OHG. *lindwurm* : *lind* 'Schlange'+*wurm* (Kluge, s.v. *Lindwurm*); OHG. *sintfluot* 'Sündflut' : Germ. \**sindu*-flood,' Skt. *śindhu-* 'stream'+OHG. *fluot* 'flood' (author, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVIII, 14). See Persson, *Studien*, 216; Fay, *Class. Rev.*, XX, 254.

The examples below are taken from English, the German of Prussia (Frischbier), and the Dutch dialect of Zaan (Boekenoogen). Many others could be added from the other dialects.

1. *Bumbaste* 'beat soundly' Wr. : *bum, bam* 'beat'+*baste* 'beat.'

2. *Bumbaze* 'confound, bewilder, perplex' : *bum* 'beat, strike'

(or *bam* 'delude') + *baze* 'alarm, puzzle, bewilder,' Du. *verbazen* 'in Bestürzung bringen' Wr.

3. *Bam-boóze* 'abuse, domineer over, push about' : *bam* 'beat, strike, browbeat, bully' + *booze*, perhaps an ablaut-form to *baze*.

4. *Bam-boóze* 'deceive, cheat, impose upon, confuse, muddle' *bam* 'play a trick or joke on a person, impose upon, delude,' *sb.* 'joke, trick, hoax' (probably the same word as *bam* 'beat, bully') + *boozle*. Cf. Nos. 2, 3.

5. *Bam-bosh* 'humbug, deceit' Sl : *bam* 'trick, hoax' + *bosh* 'nonsense, trash.'

6. *Bam-, bum-foóze* 'play tricks upon, deceive, humbug' Wr., *bum-foozle, fuzzle* 'bewilder' Dial. Notes : *bam* + *foozle* 'a man who is easily humbugged, fool' B.-L. Compare NHG. *faseln*.

7. *Biff-bang* 'jarring racket' ("the biff-bang of the looms," Ida M. Tarbell, *Am. Mag.*, January, 1911, p. 351) : *biff* + *bang*. Compounds like this may be formed at pleasure. They are made up of words expressive of a noise caused by a blow or a fall. When composed of two syllables, they have level or nearly level stress, with a tendency to accent the last word. Other examples are : *crash-bang*; *slam-bang*; *slap-bang*; *slap-dash*; *smack-dab*; *stam-bang* (*stam* 'stamp' Wr.); *stam-ram*; *stram-bang* Wr.; *thump-thud-dash-clash*; *nickety-knock* 'with throbbings, with palpitations' Wr. from *nick* 'click' + *knock*; *lickety-cut*, *lickety-larrup*, *lickety-split*, *lippety-click*, *lippety-clip*, all expressive of rapid motion. From such words are formed *te-lick*, *te-smáck*, etc. 'as fast as possible' Wr.

8. *Cag-mag, keg-meg* 'gossip, newsmonger; chatter, idle talk'; *vb.* 'nag, grumble at' : *cag, keg* 'annoy, vex, chatter, gossip' + *mag* 'chatterer, garrulous person'; *vb.* 'prattle, chatter' Wr.

9. *Clamjámfry* 'crowd, mob, raffle; rubbish, trumpery' Wr. : *clam* 'pinch, press' Wr. + *jam* 'press, crowd.'

10. *Clapperclaw* 'scratch, maul, fight in an unskilful manner' : *clap* + *claw* Wr.

11. *Cobble-nobble* 'rap on the head' : *cobble* 'knock, beat' + *nobble* 'strike, esp. on the head' Wr.

12. *Cram-jam* 'a dense crowd' : *cram* + *jam*.

13. *Creepy-crawly* 'in a creeping and crawling manner' Wr.

14. *Dumfozled* 'confounded, puzzled' Sl. : *dumb+foozle*, cf. Nos. 6, 30.

15. *Dum(b)foúnder* 'confuse, stupefy, stun' : *dumb+founder* 'cause to stumble; dismay, strike with fear or astonishment' Wr. Cf. *bogfoundered* 'perplexed': *bog* 'stick in the mire; confuse' + *foundered* Wr.

16. *Dumfoútter* 'bewilder, tease, annoy' : *dumb+fouter, footer* 'ridicule, disapprove, hinder' Wr.

17. *Fef(f)nicute, feffmecute* 'hypocrite, mean, sneaking person,' 'fawn, play the hypocrite' : *feff* 'fawn, play the hypocrite' + *cute* 'shrewd, sly' (?) Wr.

18. *Flamdoodle* 'nonsense, vain boasting' Sl. : *flam* 'nonsense, humbug' + *doodle* 'nonsense.'

19. *Flapdoodle* 'transparent nonsense, gammon' Sl. : *flap* + *doodle*.

20. *Flimslimp* 'soft' Wr. : *flimsy+limp*.

21. *Hapházard* 'chance' : *hap* 'chance' + *hazard* 'chance' Cent.

22. *Hobgoblin* 'a mischievous imp or sprite' : *hob* 'sprite, elf' + *goblin* 'elf, sprite' Cent.

23. *Hoblob* 'clown, lout' : *hob* 'clownish fellow' + *lob* 'a dull, sluggish person, lout' Cent.

24. *Howdy-towdy* : *howdy+towdy*, cf. No. VI, 3.

25. *Hugger-mugger* 'privacy, secrecy'; *adj.* 'clandestine, sly'; *vb.* 'hush, smother; take secret counsel' Cent. : *hugger* 'lie in ambush, lurk; muffle, conceal' Cent., 'wrap up, hoard' Wr. (cf. *hug* 'crouch, huddle, cuddle, cling to etc.,' NHG. *hocken* etc.) + *mugger* 'save, hoard' or *smugger* 'hide, conceal' Wr. (cf. Swed. *i mjugg* 'heimlich, verstohlen,' EFries. *mogeln* 'heimlich u. hinterlistig handeln').

26. *Humpty-dumpty* 'short and broad'; 'name of the egg in the nursery rime' Cent. : *humpty* 'humped, hunchbacked' + *dumpty* 'short and thick, squat.'

27. *Lamback* 'beat, cudgel' Cent. : *lam* 'beat, thrash' + *back* 'beat, thrash; conquer' Wr.

28. *Lambáste* 'beat severely, thrash' : *lam* 'thrash, beat' + *baste* 'beat' Cent. Cf. *bumbaste* No. 1.

29. *Pull-haul* 'bicker, contend' Dial. Notes, III, 414.

30. *Ram-foozle* 'disorder, turn topsy-turvy' Wr. : *ram*+*foozle*.  
See Nos. 6, 14.

31. *Ram-feeze* 'fatigue, exhaust' : *ram*+*feeze* 'drive, urge, beat, worry' Cent.

32. *Ram-jam* 'a surfeit,' vb. 'stuff' Sl., adj. 'tightly packed' Wr. :  
*ram* 'cram'+*jam* 'cram.'

33. *Ram-scallion*, -*scullion* 'an offensively dirty person' : *ram*  
'offensive in smell or taste'+*scallion* 'shallot, onion, leek' Wr.  
Compare "as ram as a scallion," said of a person of disagreeable  
contact.

34. *Ram-st(r)am* 'precipitately, with headlong speed' Wr. : *ram*  
as in *ram ahead* 'plunge ahead'+*stram* 'spring with violence.'  
Cf. *stam-ram* 'walk noisily and roughly' : *stam* 'stamp' Wr.+  
*ram*.

35. *Rapscaillon* 'rascal, vagabond' : *rap* 'a cheat, impostor, a  
person of bad character'+*scallion* in *ram-scallion* No. 33. Cf.  
*raskallion* 'a thorough rascal,' No. V, 37.

36. *Skadoóddles* of money 'a great deal of money' Dial. Notes,  
III, 94 : *skads* 'a large amount or number' (*skads* of money)+*oodles*  
of money 'a great deal of money' *ibid.*, 401.

37. *Straváig*, -*vag*, -*vague* 'wander about aimlessly, stroll, saunter'  
Wr. : *stray*+*vaig*, *vag* etc. 'roll, stroll, wander' Wr.

38. *Splatter-dash* 'splash about, scatter liquids or semi-liquids  
far and wide' Wr. : *splatter*+*dash*.

39. *Teeny-weeny*, *tiny-winy*, *tinny-winny* 'very small' Wr.,  
*teentsy-weentsy*, *tintsy-wintsy* (pron. *taintsi-waintsi*) 'diminutively  
small' Dial. Notes, III, 380, also *weeny-teenty* : *tiny* (pron. *taini*,  
*tini*, *tini*)+*weeny* 'very small, tiny, wee' Wr., perhaps from *wee*  
'winzig.' Cf. *twiny* 'tiny' Wr., apparently from *tiny*+*weeny*.  
Cf. No. II, 84.

40. *Dummdätsch* 'überaus dumm' : *dumm*+*dätsch* 'stumpfsinnig'  
Fr.

41. *Hakkeptel* 'stoffelig, onhandig, onbedreven person,' *hak-*  
*kepielen* 'met stomp gereedschap hakken en snijden, onhandig  
bezig zijn,' 'hack and haggel' : *hakken*+*pielen* 'met een stomp mes  
snijden, met een stompe bijl hakken' B.

42. *Hakkepóffen* 'slecht schaatsenrijden,' 'skate clumsily, with



clatter and clump,' *hakkepoffer* 'onbedreven schaatsenrijder' : *hakken* 'hack'+*poffen* 'met een bof neerkomen,' 'clump, clatter' B.

43. *Hálje-travalje* 'overhaast, hals over kop,' 'precipitately' : *hals* 'neck'+*travalje* 'halter' (?) B. Cf. Pruss. *holl über boll* 'über Hals u. Kopf, in grösster Eilfertigkeit,' perhaps from *hals über boll(e)* 'Hals über Kopf,' Du. *bol* 'Kugel, Ball, Kopf,' OHG. *hirni-bolla* 'Hirnschale.' Westf. has *holl öwer troll* 'alles kraus u. bunt übereinander.'

44. *Hemmeteutje* 'een teutig, onhandig vrouwsperson,' 'a drawling, dawdling woman' B. : Du. *hemmen* 'hem! roepen (om de aandacht te trekken; kuchen om de keel te schrapen (vóór men begint te spreken),' 'hem and haw'+*teuten* 'moeilijk, langzaam spreken; langzaam te werk gaan,' 'drawl; dawdle.'

45. *Hoesteproesten* : *hoesten* 'husten'+*proesten* 'schnauben, niesen' B.

46. *Hölterblöfig* 'hölzern, stupide, schwer von Begriff' : *holterig* 'hölzern'+*anblaffen* 'dumm, starr ansehen' Fr.

47. *Holtertollerig* 'plump, tölpelhaft,' *holtertoller* 'ein hölzerner, plumper, tölpelhafter Mensch' : *holter(ig)* 'hölzern'+*tolterig* 'plump,' *toltern* 'ungeschickt, plump sich bewegen, unsicher u. polternd gehen, taumeln' (cf. OE. *tealtrian* 'stagger, not stand firm,' *tealt* 'unsteady' etc.) Fr.

48. *Hotsklots* 'hotsend en klotsend' B. Cf. WFlem. *hutseklutsen* 'waggelende schudden.'

49. *Hucheldibuchel* 'Klangname für das Ei im Rätsel' Fr. : MHG. *hüchen* 'kauern, sich ducken'+*bücken*. Cf. NE. *humpty-dumpty* No. 26 and Westf. *huckepucke* 'Eichel.'

50. *Hucksducks* 'geheimes Einverständnis' : *hucken* 'hocken, sich ducken'+*ducks* 'geheimes, parteiisches Einverständnis demjenigen gegenüber, der sein Recht sucht' Fr.

51. *Hunkebunk* 'zur Bezeichnung eines sehr magern Menschen, eines schlechten Pferdes' Fr. : LG. *hunke* 'abgenagter Knochen'+*bunke* 'Knochen.'

52. *Hutzbutz* 'im Volksrätsel die Eichel, welche im Hutz butzend auf den Boden fällt' : *hutzen* 'schlagen'+*butzen* 'zu Boden fallen' Fr. Cf. WFlem. *hotsbots* 'tout d'un coup,' Du. *hossebossen* 'rüteln, stossen.'



53. *Juchtel* 'fuseliger Kornbranntwein' Fr. : *juche* 'dünne Brühe, schlechtes Bier,' MLG. 'Jauche, Brühe' etc. + *fucht-el* from *fucht* 'feucht' and *Fusel* 'schlechter Branntwein, bes. Kornbranntwein.'

54. *Klempeinigen* 'peinigen, quälen, foltern, einen in der Klemme haben' : *klemmen* + *peinigen* Fr.

55. *Kuckeluren* 'lauernd gucken' Fr., EFries. *kukelüren* 'von einem Versteck aus wonach kucken u. spähen etc.' : by analogy and feeling connected with *kucken* 'gucken' and *lüren* 'lauern,' but actually transformed from MDu. *kokerolien* 'cochleae vitam agere, domi latitare.' Cf. Koolman, II, 394.

56. *Kikkebik* 'moment,' in the expression *alle kikkebikken* 'alle oogenblikken' : *kik* 'Laut, Ton,' *kikken* 'einen leisen Laut von sich geben' + *bikken* 'hacken' B.

57. *Kikkemik* 'moment' : *kik(ken)* + *mik(ken)*. Cf. Du. *geen kik of mik zeggen, kikken noch mikken* etc. B.

58. *Klikkebik* 'moment' : *klik, klikken* 'click' + *bik* B.

59. *Krikkemikken* 'voortdurend heen en weer bewegen, beweeglijk zijn, raggen,' 'move to and fro,' Du. *krikkemik* 'Kranbock' B. : MDu. *cricke, crucke, crocke* 'kruk, haak, iets met een dwarshout; stok met een dwarsstuk of kruk, kruk waarop men gaat; stelt, staf, rechterstaf' + *mikken*.

60. *Slikkebikken* 'slikken,' 'verschlucken' (in the expression *dat ken-je sl.* 'dat mocht je willen') B. : *slikken* + *bikken* 'uithakken; pikken, eten, schransen,' 'behacken, picken, essen.'

61. *Ukkedop* 'iemand die klein is in zijn soort, dwerg, dreumes' : *uk, ukkie* 'iemand die klein van gestalte is, dreumes' (according to B. a by-form of *hurk*) + *dop*, here indicating something small and dumpy (cf. MLG. *dop, doppe* 'Schale, bes. von Eiern, Kapsel, Kelch, Topf; Kreisel; Knopf'). Similar synonymous compounds are : *urkedop* : (*h*)*urk* 'iemand die klein van gestalte is, dwerg' + *dop* : (*h*)*uppedop* : *upper* 'een klein kind, dreumes' + *dop*; *utterdop* : *utttertje* 'iemand die klein is in zijn soort, dreumes, klein kind' + *dop*; *ukkepuk* : *ukkie, uk* + *puk* 'een klein kind; een mensch of dier dat klein is in zijn soort,' NE. *puck* etc. B.

62. *Verhapsnappen* 'naschen,' *hapsnap* 'Mund' : *happen* 'schnappen, einbeissen' + *snappen* 'schnappen' B.

Compounds like the above are very common in Hungarian,<sup>1</sup> the elements being related both by meaning and by sound, as : *nyal-fal* 'lick-devour'; *ken-fen* 'smear-daub'; *csusz-masz* 'creep-crawl,' etc.

#### IV. RIMING COMPOUNDS<sup>2</sup>

These are not essentially different from those in class III, some of which might be given here. However, I have aimed to give here only those compounds which have a riming element that is not a word by itself, as *churchy-wurchy* No. 3. Here *wurchy* is merely a riming element. In popular speech such compounds are quite frequent, and it is highly probable that many new words have been formed by abstracting the riming element from the compound. This would help to account for the large number of rime-words.

1. *Argle-bargle* 'argue, haggle' : *argle* 'argue disputatiously, haggle' Sl. (cf. V, 3). The second part was perhaps suggested by *bargain*. Cf. *argue-bargue* De Morgan.

2. *Cag-mag, keg-meg* 'tough, inferior meat; carrion' : *cag* 'bad or inferior meat; carrion' Wr.

3. *Churchy-wurchy* 'little church' De Morgan, *Somehow Good*, 477.

4. *Cozy-rozy* 'merrily and fantastically tipsy' : *cozy* 'conceited, arrogant [cocky]; of horses, restive' Wr. Perhaps *rozy* was suggested by *rock* 'sway.'

5. *Cushle-mushle* 'a confused muttering and movement, hubbub' : *mushle* 'confusion' Wr.

6. *Curly-berly* 'ornaments,' *curly-merly* 'bric-a-brac,' *curly-wurly* 'fantastic ornamentation on buildings and on stone work' Wr.: *curly-(cue)* 'a twisted flourish.' *Curly-berly* belongs properly in III. Cf. *burl* 'a knot or excrescence on walnut and other trees, used for ornamental veneering.'

7. *Dimmy-simmy* 'languishing, affected' Wr. : *simmy*, properly a shortened form of *simpering* 'affected, silly.' Cf. *sim-kin* 'simpleton' Wr. from *sim-pleton*. Cf. No. I, 13, and 9 below.

<sup>1</sup> The examples given here and elsewhere in this article are furnished by Mr. Alexander Green, College of the City of New York.

<sup>2</sup> For riming compounds in which both parts exist as separate words cf. Nos. III, 8, 9, 11, 12, 22-26, 32, 34, 39, 43, 45, 47-60. See also H. Willert in *Festschrift für A. Tobler*, pp. 437-58. Müller, *Die Reim- und Ablautkomposita des Englischen*, was not at my disposal.

8. *Eckle-feckle* 'cheery, merry, gay; alert, shrewd' : *feck* 'strong, vigorous' Wr.

9. *Eeksie-peeksie* 'equal' Wr. : *eq-ual*.

10. *Fuzzy-wuzzy* 'fuzzy' : *fuzzy* Wr.

11. *Helter-(s)keller* 'head-foremost, all together; with great speed, without intermission' Wr. : *skeller* 'hurry, scamper, beat a hasty retreat,' *keller* 'move at full speed; headlong speed' Wr.

12. *Higgledy-piggledy* 'in confusion, topsy-turvy,' 'a riming compound of no definite elements' Cent.

13. *Hob-nob* 'drink together; be on very friendly terms' : *nob* 'drink with a companion' Wr.

14. *Hocus-pocus* 'juggler, trickster; juggler's trick; juggle, deceive, cheat' Cent. : *hocus* 'a stupid fellow, fool,' *hoke* 'romp or play, gambol' Wr.

15. *Howdy-towdy* 'push' : *howder* 'push; blow fitfully,' *hcwdle* 'move up and down, sway, rock; crowd together, swarm,' *howd* 'sway, rock, bump up and down' Wr., NHG. dial. *hutzen* 'stossen,' *hotzeln* 'schütteln,' MHG. *hotze* 'Wiege.'

16. *Hubble-bubble* 'a continued bubbling or gurgling sound' : *bubble* Cent.

17. *Huddle-duddle* 'a decrepit person' : *huddle* 'an old decrepit person' Cent., cf. Pruss. *huddeln* 'zögern, langsam arbeiten.'

18. *Hufty-tufty* 'swaggering manners': *hufty* 'a swagger' Cent.

19. *Hurly-burly* 'tumult, bustle, confusion' : *hurly*, same, Cent., *hurl* 'throw with violence, send whirling or whizzing through the air,' early E. *hurl*, *hurlment* 'tumult, confusion.' *Burly* 'boisterous' (prop. 'bulky, large') probably took its meaning from the compound.

20. *Hurry-burry* 'hurly-burly,' *hurry-durry* 'rough, hasty' : *hurry* 'move or act with haste' Cent. Cf. *hurry-scurry* from *hurry* + *scurry* and *scurrie-whurrie*, *skirry-whirry* from *scurry* + *whir*.

21. *Kabbie-labby* 'altercation, wrangle,' *kebbie-lebby* 'altercation in which a number of people are talking at once' : *kebbie* 'chide, quarrel' Wr.

22. *Kicksy-wicksy* 'flickering, restless' : *kick* Cent.

23. *Ocker-docker* 'a black pebble striped with some other color' : *ocky* 'dirty, nasty' Wr.

24. *Pinny-ninny* 'a Christmas game played with pins' Wr. : *pin*.

25. *Peery-weery* 'blinking, small-eyed' : *peery* 'peeping, peering' Wr.

26. *Piggy-wiggy* 'a pet name for pig' Sl. : *pig*.

27. *Roister-doister* 'a roisterer' : *roister* Cent.

28. *Ranty-tanty* 'very angry' : *ranty* 'wildly excited with passion' Wr.

29. *Razzle-dazzle* 'dazzle and confuse' : *dazzle* Cent.

30. *Roly-poly* 'the act of rolling over and over' Wr., 'a sheet of paste spread with jam and rolled up, to form a pudding; round, pudgy' : *roll* Cent.

31. *Rory-tory* 'loud, noisy' Wr. : *roar*.

32. *Tissy-wissy* 'a dry tickling cough' : *tissick* 'a cough, esp. a dry tickling cough' Wr.

33. *Tol-loll(ish)* 'tolerable' Sl. : *tol-* in *tolerable* (cf. Nos. 7 and 9). Similarly we may explain *colly-molly* 'melancholy' : *colly* (-*cholly*) + *molly* (transformed from *melan-*). Cf. No. I, 13.

34. *Twilly-willy* 'woolen dress material, a stuff gown' Wr. : *twill*. *Willy* was probably suggested by *wool*.

35. *Fiselrîsel* 'ein Leichtfüssiger, Leichtfertiger' : *fîseln* 'unruhig, unstät umherlaufen, sich zwecklos umhertreiben,' *fîsel* 'leicht bewegliche, hin u. her fahrende, alberne Person' Fr.

36. *Hetzefetze, hetzchefetzche* 'übereilt, flüchtig, leichtfertig, etc.' Fr.: *hetzen*. Other synonymous forms, differently associated, are: *hirz(e)firz(e)*, *hirzfirzig*, with which cf. NE. dial. *clarty-farty* 'moving briskly about, frisking, unsettled' and NHG. dial. *ferzeln* 'umherfahren, geschäftig hin u. her laufen' Weinhold, *Schles. Wb.*, 19.

37. *Hakkepak* 'iemand die onbedreven is, die onhandig doet,' 'a clumsy person' B : *hakke(ptel)* No. III, 41. Notice the change in accent.

38. *Heutemeteut* 'teut, dreutel, onhandig persoon,' 'clumsy, dawdling person' B. : (*hem*)*meteutje* No. III, 44.

39. *Holterdepolter, hullerdepulter, hollerdeboller* 'zur Bezeichnung eines polternden Geräusches und der lärmenden Hast, mit der eine Sache abgemacht wird' Fr. : *poltern*, MLG. *bulderen* 'poltern,' *bulder, buller* 'Gepolter.' The first part of the word was perhaps suggested by *holla* or *hallen*. Similarly *holterdetolter* : *toltern* 'unsicher u. polternd gehen, taumeln,' cf. No. III, 47.

40. *Hurrduddurdel* 'Saus und Braus' Fr. : EFries. *hurdel* 'saudsender Windstoss, Wirbelwind; kurzdauernder Lärm u. Zank,' *hurdeln* 'brausen, sausen, wirbeln.' The last part is probably simply a riming addition, though if there were a Germ. *durd-* 'roar,' it might be compared with Ir. *dordaim* 'brülle,' Lett. *dardēt* 'knarren,' etc.

41. *Ickepicke* 'Klangwort als Rätselname für den Krebs' Fr. : *picken*.

42. *Lanterfanteren* B., Du. *lanterfanten* 'müßig gehen, sich umhertreiben,' WFlem. *lantefanteren*, Kil. *landtrefanten* 'ociose vagari,' *landtrefant*, *land-trouwant* 'vagabundus' : *trouwant* 'vagabundus,' *trouwanten* 'otiose vagari,' OFrench *truant*, whence NE. *truant*. Here the word was at first a compound like MDu. *lantlōper*, *lantstriker*, with a later assimilation of the second part to the first, which was perhaps associated with *lenteren* 'lente et ignave agere,' Fr. *lanterner*, also in WFlem. *lanterlullen* 'niet of weinig en traagzaam werken,' 'loiter, dawdle.'

With the above compare Hungarian iteratives in which the initial sound of the second part is changed, usually to *b*, as: *csiga-biga* : *csiga* 'snail'; *ingó-bingó* : *ingó* 'movable,' etc.

## V. BLENDS

No doubt everyone has had the experience of combining two synonymous words in one, as when one says *plish*, having *plate* and *dish* in mind at the same time, or *snangle* for *snarl* and *tangle*, etc. What thus comes about by accident may be done intentionally or may even grow into fixed usage. Certain it is that many words owe their origin to a crossing or contamination of one word with another.

With the examples given below compare the following from the French:

*Comparaitre* : *compar(oir) + (par)aitre*; *éclabousser* : *écla(ter) + OFr. (es)bousser*; *meugler* : *m(ugir) + (b)eugler*; OFr. *oreste* : *or(age) + OFr. (temp)este*; *phalanstère*, mot créé par Fourier : *phalan(ge) + (mona)-stère*; *selon* : Lat. *se(cundum) + longum*; (argot) *foultitude* : *foule + (mul)titude*; *radicanaille* : *radi(caille) + canaille* etc. (cf. Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 526 f.); *ridicoculiser* : *ridiculiser + co(cu)* Rostand.

Here again the Hungarian furnishes parallels : *kellembe* 'in my

breast' : *k(e)blembe* + *(m)ellembe*; *kutaskodik* 'he searches' : *kuta(t)* + *(kere)skedik*, with vowel assimilation according to rule; *türtözteti* : *tür* 'endure, suffer' + *(tar)t* 'hold' + *öz (óz)*, inceptive suffix + *tet*, causative suffix + *i*, 3d sing. ind. termination, i.e., we have here a blend of *türteti* + *tartóztatja*. Numerous other examples of blending occur.

1. *Animule* 'animal, esp. the mule' : *ani(mal)* + *mule* Sl.
2. *Austerne* 'austere' (Wyclif) : *au(stere)* + *stern*.
3. *Argle* 'argue disputatiously, haggle' Sl. : *arg(ue)* + *(hagg)le*.
4. *Baffably* 'affably' Irwin : *b(landly)* + *affably*. In like manner Irwin forms *taffable*, in reference to the Taft smile.
5. *Beautilitarian Good Housekeeping Magazine*, March, 1911, p. 281: *beau(ty)* + *(u)tilitarian*.
6. *Brunch* (Oxford Univ. slang) 'a meal which takes the place of breakfast and lunch' : *br(eakfast)* + *(l)unch* Cent.
7. *Canoodle* (Oxford) 'paddle a canoe' : *canoe* + *(pad)dle* Sl.
8. *Chortle* 'exclaim exultingly, with a chuckle' : *ch(uck)le* + *(sn)ort* Cent.
9. *Cussnation*, used as an expletive : *cuss* 'curse' + *(dam)nation* Wr. In principle such blends are like Eng. words with Latin or Romance endings, as: *acknowledgment*, *riddance*, *starvation*, etc.
10. *Dink* 'deck, dress' Cent.: *d(eck)* + *(pr)ink*.
11. *Discombobbelate* 'discompose, confuse' : *discom(pose)* + *(ca)-bobble* No. VII, 1.
12. *Discomfuffle* 'incommode' : *discom(mode)* + *fuffle* 'throw into disorder' Wr. Cf. No. VII, 9.
13. *Discomfuddle* 'discompose' : *discom(pose)* + *fuddle*. Cf. No. VII, 8.
14. *Doggerly* 'a low groggery' : *dog* + *(grog)gery* B.-L.
15. *Drummure* 'grave, serious, sad' : *drum* 'melancholy' Jam. + *(de)mure*.
16. *Dum(b)found* 'confound, perplex' : *dumb* + *(con)found* Cent. Or this may be a shortened form of *dum(b)founder* No. III, 15. Cf. *baffound* 'perplex': *baf(fle)* + *(con)found* Wr.
17. *Dwizzened* 'wrinkled, wizzened' Wr. : *d(windle)* + *wizzened*.
18. *Fidgitated* 'uneasy, agitated' Irwin : *fidg(ety)* + *(ag)itated*.
19. *Flimsical* Irwin : *fl(ighty)* + *(wh)imsical*.

20. *Frockaway coat* Irwin : *frock*+(*cut*)*away coat*.
21. *Fruice* 'drink made from fruit-juice' : *fr*(*uit*)+(j)*uice*.
22. *Grandiferous* : *grand*+(*aur*)*iferous* B.-L. Similarly formed are *splendiferous* from *splendid*, and *grandificent* : *grand*+(*magn*)*ificent*. B.-L.
23. *Happenstance* 'casual circumstance' : *happen*(*ing*)+(circum)-*stance*.
24. *Hellophone* 'telephone' : *hello*+(tele)*phone* Sl.
25. *Imperence* : *imper*(*tinence*)+(impud)*ence* Sl.
26. *Kazzardly, cazzardly* 'precarious, risky, uncertain' : *cazz*(*elty*) (dial. form of *casualty*) 'casual, accidental; precarious, risky, uncertain' Wr.+(*haz*)*ard*.
27. *Loistering* 'loitering' Irwin : (*lei*)*s*(*ure*)+*loiter*.
28. *Mouncing* 'exulting' Irwin : *m*(*ounting*)+(b)*ouncing*.
29. *Mux* 'mix confusedly' : *m*(i)*x*+(m)*u*(*ss*) 'put into disorder.'
30. *Needcessity* 'necessity' Dial. Notes : *need*+(*ne*)*cessity*.
31. *Pecurious* 'very minutely and scrupulously exact' Wr.: *pe*(*culiar*)+*curious*.
32. *Plumpendicular* 'perpendicular' : *plumb*+(per)*pendicular* Wr. Similarly formed is *slantendicular* Cent.
33. *Pupmatic* 'dogmatic in a puppish manner' : *pup*+(dog)*matic*.
34. *Pushency* 'urgency' Dial. Notes : *push*+(urg)*ency*.
35. *Rambust* 'robust' Wr. : *ram* 'a headstrong fellow'+(ro)*bust*.
36. *Ranshackle* 'pillage, ransack' : *ran*(*sack*)+(ram)*shackle* Sl.
37. *Raskallion* 'rascal' : *ras*(*cal*)+(rap)*scallion* Wr., No. III, 35.
38. *Recomember* : *reco*(llect)+(re)*member*. Similarly *remollect* : *rem*(ember)+(rec)*ollect*.
39. *Roaratorio* : *roar*+(or)*atorio* Sl.
40. *Rumfle* 'ruffle, rumple' Wr. : *ruffle*+(ru)*m*(ple).
41. *Sklap* 'slap, strike with severity' Wr. : *s*(lap)+*clap*. Other examples of the addition of an *s*- from synonymous words are: *sclasp* 'clasp' Wr. : *clasp*+*s*(natch); *sclatch* 'a large clot of mud or filth' : *clatch* 'mess, slop'+*s*(latch) 'dabble in mire' Wr.; *sclimb* 'climb' : *climb*+*s*(crimb) 'climb' Wr.; *splunge* 'plunge' : *plunge*+*s*(plash), "A see 'em sploshin an' splungein in the watter" Wr.; *squench* 'quench, allay thirst' : *quench*+*s*(quelch) 'quench thirst' Wr. These and others like them are in no sense examples of a



"movable s-," but of an s- added analogically. Moreover s is not thus added more than other sounds (cf. author, *IF.*, XXII, 133-71).

42. *Screwomatics* 'rheumatics' : *screws*(s) 'rheumatics' Wr.+ (rheu)omatics.

43. *Silkpipe hat* Irwin : *silk* (hat) + (stove)pipe hat.

44. *Skeddaddle* 'spill, scatter; disperse in flight; retreat precipitately' Wr. : *skee*(t) 'squirt; spread, distribute, scatter; hasten, move quickly' (cf. *scoot*) + *daddle* 'walk unsteadily, stagger, waddle' Wr.

45. *Skee-weep* 'a dash, smear' Wr. : *skee*(t) 'squirt, eject fluid' (skeetle 'drop') + *weep* 'drip, exude, leak' Wr.

46. *Skittenish* Irwin : s(kittish) + kittenish.

47. *Skrauky* 'ungainly' ('a skrauky long-legged thing in a white pinafore' *Chicago Record-Herald*, December 11, 1910) : *scraw*(ny) 'raw-boned, lean' + (gaw)ky 'awkward, ungainly.'

48. *Smothercate* 'smother' Wr. : *smother* + (suffo)cate.

49. *Snangle* 'snarl, tangle' : *sn*(arl) + (t)angle. This word was used by a girl of eleven, who unconsciously would frequently make such blends.

50. *Snash* 'snap, bite' Wr. : *sn*(ap) + (gn)ash.

51. *Sneekretly* 'slyly' Irwin : *sneak* + (sec)retly.

52. *Solemncholy* Sl. : *solemn* + (melan)choly.

53. *Squarson* 'a squire who is also a parson' Sl. : *squ*(ire) + (p)arson. Similarly *squishop* : *squ*(ire) + (b)ishop Sl.

54. *Squiggle* 'wiggle, squirm' Wr. : *squ*(irm) + (wr)iggle Wr.

55. *Striked* 'striped' in the expression 'ring-streaked and striked' Dial. Notes, III, 363 : *stri*(p)ed + (strea)k(ed). Cf. *ringstraked* and *spotted* Gen. 30:35.

56. *Sumple* 'supple, pliant' Wr. : *supple* + (li)m(ber).

57. *Swellegant* : *swell* 'elegant, stylish' + (el)egant.

58. *Tow-row* 'noise, racket' Wr. : *tou*(se) 'pull, seizure, disturbance' + row.

59. *Wegotism* 'the excessive use of 'we' in journalism' Sl. : *we* + (e)gotism.

60. *Yellocution* : *yell* + (el)ocution.

61. *Kaseln* 'dumm u. unüberlegt reden, kosen, faseln' Fr. : (k)osen + (f)aseln.



62. *Kaputnieren* 'verschneiden, kapaunen' : *kapunieren* + (*kapu*)t Fr.

63. *Karfunkel*: *kar(b)unkel* + *f(unke)* Kluge.

64. *Leckkuchen* 'Lebkuchen, Honigkuchen' : *leck(er)* + (*Leb*)kuchen. Fr. Cf. Swiss *Leckerli* 'Zuckergebäck.'

65. *Verlustieren* 'belustigen, amüsieren' Fr. : *verlust(igen)* (MLG. *vorlustigen* 'belustigen') + (*amüs*)ieren.

66. *Verrungenieren* 'ruinieren, verderben, zu Grunde richten' Fr. : *ver(ri)ng(ern)* + *ru-inieren*.

67. *Schmieralien* 'Bestechungsgeschenke; schlechtes Geschreibe': *schmier(e)* + (*materi*)alien Weigand<sup>6</sup>.

68. *Schimpfieren* 'verspotten' in late MHG. is a blend of *schimpfen* and *schumpfieren* 'besiegen; beschimpfen' from OFr. *descumfire*, *desconfire* 'déconfire.' The second meaning of *schumpfieren* is likewise due to *schimpfen*. For the same reason the noun *schumpfentiure* 'Niederlage, Besiegung' (OFr. *desconfiture*) has the by-form *schimpfentiure* (cf. Weigand<sup>6</sup>, 713).

#### VI. HAPLOGIC BLENDS

Two words may be so combined that a sound or combination of sounds in one part of the compound may be suppressed because the same or similar sounds occur in the other. E.g. Skt. *çēvrdha-s* 'lieb, wert' from \**çēva-vrdha-s* : Gk. ἀμφορεύς for ἀμφιφορεύς 'a two-handled jar'; κατάδε for κατὰ τὰδε 'after this'; Lat. *mediālis* from \**medīdiālis*; OHG. *swibogo* 'Schwebobogen' from \**swibi-bogo*, etc. (cf. Brugmann, Kz. vgl. Gram., 24); French *dévastateur* for *dévastateur*; OFr. *hipotame* for *hippopotame*; *idolâtre* for *idololâtre*; *tragicomédie* for *tragico-comédie*, etc. (Nyrop, Gram. hist.<sup>2</sup>, § 514).

Especially interesting are the examples of syllabic dissimilation in words in which the similar sounds are not juxtaposed. E.g. Skt. *maryādā* for *maryādāyā* dat. 'der Grenze'; Gk. ὀλέκρᾰνον 'point of the elbow' from \*ὀλενο-κρᾰνον; Lat. *lapicīda* for *lapidicīda*, etc. (Brugmann, 244 f.); French *bedondaine* from *bedon* + (*be*)daine; (argot) *radicanaille* from *radi(caille)* + *canaille*; *républicoquin* from *républi(cain)* + *coquin* (Nyrop, §§ 526, 527).

In Germanic, examples of syllabic superposition and dissimilation occur in large numbers. Many have been collected by Heinrich

Schröder in his book, *Streckformen, ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der Wortentstehung u. der germ. Wortbetonung*, Heidelberg 1906. Most of these are certainly haplologic blends, not extended forms of a simple word. Schröder can at least be thanked for his collection of material if not congratulated on his theory.

Now if the so-called "Streckformen" are blends, where would the accent be? The stress would naturally rest on the same syllable in the blend as in the compound. In other words it would rest on the accented syllable of the stressed word. E.g. if we say *teeny-weeny* (No. III, 39), then the form would become by haplology *\*teé-weény*; but *teeny-weény* would become *\*tee-weény*. This would be the more natural stress. For if for the sake of emphasis a word is repeated or two synonymous words used, it is the second that is naturally stressed. Thus if one repeats the command "come," he would say: "Come, come!" with a decided stress on the second word. Or in using a word like *slam-bang* (No. III, 7), the speaker would, in most cases, accent the last syllable, never the first.

Hence such words as Ger. *schlampámpen* from *schlamp-(schl)ámpen*, *dajácke* from *da(cke)-jácke*, etc., are regular in their accent, and present no new phenomenon of language. The explanation here given is also not entirely new. Others have regarded such words as contaminations. E.g. Swiss *chräbüselen* 'kitzeln' is explained in Schweiz. Id., III, 788, as "vielleicht eine Kontamination von *chräbben* mit *büselen* oder mit *chrüselen*." This was very close to the true explanation. And yet according to Schröder it is impossible on account of the accent.

Thus Schröder argues in a circle: Extended forms are irregularly accented; therefore irregularly accented words are extended forms. Neither premise nor conclusion is correct. As we have seen, apparently irregular accent may be due to other causes; and it is certain that extended forms may occur without a shifting of accent. E.g., one method known to me of extending words consists in inserting *liw* after the first vowel, with the repetition of the same vowel after the infix. Thus *bat* becomes *báliwat*; *book*, *boóliwook*; *dish*, *díliwish*, etc., always with the accent on the first syllable.

The examples following are plainly haplologic blends. They could not better illustrate the principle involved if they were made to order.

1. *Brabanditti* 'soldiers of Brabant': *Bra(bant)*, English Colonial General in the Boer War + *banditti* Sundén 69. Cf. French *vaticanaille* : *vati(can)* + *canaille* Nyrop, § 514, R. 2.

2. *Coronotions* : *coro(nation)* + *notions* Sundén 69.

3. *How-towdie* 'a young hen, one that has never laid; a young unmarried woman' : *how(die)* + *towdie* Wr., same. Cf. No. III, 24.

4. *Pee-doddle* 'dawdle' Wr. : *pee(dle)* 'do anything in a slow, indolent fashion' + *doddle* 'walk feebly or slowly, idle, dawdle' Wr.

5. *Raviators*, title of a cartoon in the *Chicago Record-Herald*, Feb. 12, 1911, representing a group of persons gazing into the air: *rav(ers)* + *(av)iators*.

6. *Refereaders* 'readers of the Referee, a newspaper' : *Refe(ree)* + *readers* Sundén 69.

7. *Badautle* 'dumme Person' Schweiz. Id., *badaudel* 'Halbnarr, dummer Mensch' Els. Wb. : Als. *bad(el)* 'dummer Kerl' (also *badli*, Swiss *badi*, Swab. *badde*, Fr. *badaud*) + Swiss *(b)audi* 'ungeschickter, abgeschmackter Kerl, närrischer Mensch, Einfaltspinsel; vertrauliche Benennung einer dicken, unbehülflichen Person.' Similarly Swiss *badölich* 'dummer Kerl' : *bad-* + *(b)ölig* 'dumm'; *baduntle* 'Beiname einer fetten, dicken Weibsperson' (Swab. *badantele*)<sup>n</sup> 'kleines Männlein' : *bad-* + Swiss *(b)ünteli* 'Reisebündel; Benennung einer kleinen, dicken Person'; Als. *badutscherle* 'einfältige Person' *bad-* + Als. *(b)utscher* 'Schimpfname für einen Ungeschickten.' Schr. 10 f.

8. *Bagabauschi* 'Scheltwort : alte Hexe' Schweiz. Id. : *bagá'(schi)* 'Bagage, Gepäck; Pack, Gesindel' + *bauschi* 'nichtsnutzige Weibsperson.' By further dissimilation this becomes *bagauschi* (i.e. *baga[b]auschi*) 'Schelte auf eine nachlässige, dumme Weibsperson.' Instead of being extended, this form is doubly contracted. Schr. 11.

9. *Bahunke, bohunke, \*buhunke* : *bu(nke)* + *hunke* 'Knochen.' Similarly *halunke, holunke* may be from MLG. *hal(e)* 'Hehl, Heimlichkeit' (Pruss. *holker* 'Hehler; im plur. Gesindel, Diebsgesindel') + *(h)unke*. Schr. 11 ff.

10. *Balaff* 'kräftiger Schlag' Els. Wb. : *ba(ff)* (Als. *baff* 'schallnachahmendes Wort,' *bäffere* 'schlagen; keifen, belfern') + *(b)laff* (Handschuhsh. dial. *plefe* 'jem. einen Schlag versetzen,' Swab. *pläff* interj., *blaffen*). Schr. 20.

11. *Bäjäckere*<sup>a</sup> 'schnell laufen, fortrennen': *bä(ckere)*<sup>a</sup> 'schnell gehen'+*jäckere*<sup>a</sup> 'jagen, mit einem Fuhrwerk eilig fahren' Els. Wb. Schr. 19. Cf. French *républicoquin*: *républi(cain)+coquin*.

12. *Dajacke* 'Schelte, nur von einem Frauenzimmer': *da(cke)* 'Mädchen, welches viel umherläuft; Klatsche' (*dacken* 'umherlaufen; klatschen')+*-jacke* 'Klatsche' (*jacken* 'schnell reiten, tadelndes Wort für einen Menschen, der öfter müßig u. zwecklos ausreitet, für ein Frauenzimmer, das häufig ausser dem Hause Unterhaltung u. Zeitvertreib sucht') Woeste. Schr. 20.

13. *Fladakken*<sup>1</sup> 'lang vleien, lamoezen, laaien, fr. caresser, flagorner, flatter bassement' De Bo: *flad(vlaeden)* 'blandiri, adulari' Kil.)+(f)akken 'vleien.'

14. *Flamakken* 'fladakken' De Bo: *flam-* (cf. NE. dial. *flam* 'sham story, humbug, flattery,' Bav. *flämmen* 'betrügen, über-vorteilen' Bayer. Wb.)+(f)akken. Similarly *flameien* 'fleien, vleien' De Bo: *flam-*+(f)eien 'schmeicheln.'

15. *Flammatzger* 'hohe Flammen werfen' Schweiz. Id.: *flamm(en)+ (f)atzgern* (Swiss *flatzgen* 'flackern'). Schr. 141.

16. *Galaffen* 'gaffen, mit offenem Munde dastehn': *ga(ffen)+ (g)laffen* 'gaffen, mit stieren Augen u. offenem Munde sehen' Fr., Els. Wb., Schr. 21.

17. *Glockotzen* 'rülpsen': *\*glock(en)* (*glucken*)+(g)otzen. Schr. 141 f. Or *glo(tzen)+kotzen* 'sich erbrechen' D. Wb.

18. *Gramässe*<sup>a</sup> pl. 'Gram, Kummer,' *gramassig* 'grimmig': *gram*+(gr)äss 'finster, schrecklich' Els. Wb. Schr. 101.

19. *Gramauenzen* 'zanken, murren': *gram(en)* 'knirschen' Bayer. Wb.+(gr)auenzen 'verdriesslich murren.' Schr. 102.

20. *Gramausen* 'weinerlich klagen, murren, etc.': *gram(sen)+ (gr)ausen* 'klagende, weinerliche Töne von sich geben.' Schr. 102 f. Similarly *gramauggen* from *gram(en)+ (gr)auggi*, etc.

21. *Halletzen* 'hallo machen, lärmern': *hall(en)+ (h)etzen*. Schr. 21.

22. *Halops, holops*: *hal(lo), hol(la)+ (h)ops*. Schr. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Under this word stands in De Bo-Samyn, *Westvlaamach Idioticon*, Gent 1892: "Dit *fladokken, fladakken, flamakken* is niet anders dan *flakken, flokken* met eenen lasch in den grondvorm, waar ons dialect veel van houdt." Then follow seventy-five examples of such words, explained exactly as in Schröder's theory, twelve years before Schröder's first article on this subject appeared. Elsewhere in the book many other words are similarly explained.

23. *Jadackern* 'schnell laufen; schnell sprechen' : *ja(cken)* No. 12 + EFries. *dackern* 'rasch u. hörbar gehn' (*dacken* 'umherlaufen; klatschen') Woeste. Schr. 22.

24. *Kabbauen* 'sich pöbelhafterweise mit lautem Geschrei untereinander zanken.' Schr. 24 : EFries. *kabb(eln)* laut zanken u. streiten, keifen' + *(k)auen*. Here also *kabecheln* 'sich Mühe geben, einen durch Erinnerungen zu bessern' : *kab-+(k)ächeln* 'zanken'; *kabesern* : *kab-+(k)ësern* (LG. *kësen* 'beissen,' etc.). Schr. 25.

25. *Kamuffel* 'dummer Kerl' : *kam(el)* 'Kamel, Dummkopf' + *(m)uffel* 'hässlicher Mund, Maul' Els. Wb. Cf. Schr. 27 f., 49 f.

26. *Karwizen* 'einen durchdringenden Laut von sich geben': *kar(ezen)* 'knarren, kreischen' (*karen* 'unangenehm scharf tönen') + *(k)wizen* (*quitzen, quietzen*) 'quietschen.' Schr. 198.

27. *Klabastern* 'schmieren, kleiben; prügeln; mit starkem Geräusch od. ungeschickt laufen, reiten, fahren' Schr. 151 : *Klab-* (Pruss. *klabbern* 'kleben,' *klabberig* 'klebrig,' MHG., NHG. *klappern*) + *(kl)astern* (WFlem. *klasteren* 'beklakken, bekladden, bekljsternen,' NHG. *klastern* 'prasseln, platzen, klatschen'). Similarly Pruss. *klabacken* 'prügeln, schlagen' : *klab-+(kl)acken* (MHG. *klac* 'Knall, Krach,' *klecken* 'tönend schlagen; einen Kleck, Fleck machen' etc.); *klabatschen* 'prügeln,' Els. *klawatschen* 'schwatzen' : *klab-+(kl)atschen*; EFries. *klabattern* 'prügeln; galoppieren' : *klab-+(kl)attern* 'klappern, rasseln' (WFlem. *klabetteren* 'klappern' : *klab-+(kl)etteren* 'klappern'); LG. *klabīstern* 'klabastern' : *klab-+(kl)īstern* (WFlem. *beklijstern* 'éclabousser, salir,' etc.); *klabuster* 'Schmutzknoten'; *klab-+(kl)uster*. Schr. 149 ff.

28. *Klabotsen*<sup>1</sup> 'klotzen, horten' De Bo, 'haard slaan' C. en V., 'hart anpochen, schlagen' : *kla(ts)* (Du. *klats* 'klatsch!' *kletsen* 'knallen lassen') + *botsen* 'stossen' (*kabots* 'plumps!' No. VII, 31).<sup>1</sup> Like this may be : Antw. *klabatteren* 'klappern' : *kla(tteren)* 'klappern' + *batteren* 'schlagen'; Antw. *klabotteren* 'botteren, stommeln' : *kla(tteren)* + *botteren* 'poltern' (cf. VII, 30).

29. *Klabautermann*. If this is primarily 'Klettermann' (Schr. 162), then it is from *klab-* (MHG. *klaber* 'Klaue, Kralle,' Du. *klaveren*

<sup>1</sup> In De Bo's *klabotsen* is regarded as "gevormd van *klotzen* met eenen lasch in den grondvorm," in which case we should have *klab-+(kl)otsen*.

'klettern')+EFries. (*kl*)*auteren* 'klettern.' Similarly *krabaut(er)* : *krab(be)*+(*kr*)*aut* 'Krabbe.' Schr. 157 f.

30. *Kladatschen* Holst. 'im Sprunge gehn,' Pom. 'durch den Kot steigen,' Westf. 'klatschen,' *kladatsche* 'Klatsche,' LG. *kladatsch* 'ein das unbequeme, tölpische Fallen im Ton nachbildender Ausdruck': *klad-* (MLG. *kladeren* 'schmieren,' Pruss. *kladdern* 'unreinlich u. ungeschickt arbeiten, bes. bei der Wäsche,' *kladderig* 'klebrig, schmutzig,' EFries. *kladdern* 'klatschen, prasseln, mit lautem Geräusch niederschlagen od. fallen,' *kladden* 'klecksen, schmieren, schmutzen, sudeln,' etc.)+(*kl*)*atschen*; *kladderadatsch* : *kladder-(kl)ad-(kl)atsch*. Schr. 155, 173.

31. *Kladater* 'kladde, kladder, vlek' De Bo : *klad(der)*+(*kl*)*ater* 'kladder, vlek.'

32. *Kladisen*, *kladistern* 'laufen' Woeste, 'für ungeschicktes plumpes Laufen durch den Kot' Schr. 173 : *klad-* (see above and cf. also Westf. *kladdern* 'lotterig gehen, sich liederlich umhertreiben')+(*kl*)*isen* (Dan. dial. *klise* 'kleben' etc.). Or *kladisen*: *kla(ddern)* Westf. 'sich liederlich umhertreiben,' EFries. 'klatschen'+Westf. *disen* 'laufen, rennen.'

33. *Kladodder* 'iets dat dik en klodderig is' : *klad-* (cf. No. 31)+(*kl*)*odder* 'kladdige, trillende klomp van een dikke, brijachtige stof' B.

34. *Klamaai* 'Dreck' B. : Du. *klam* 'Feuchtigkeit'+*klaai*, *klei* 'Marscherde, Lehm.'

35. *Klavutteren* 'kluttern, ratelen, reuteln' De Bo : *klav-*, *klab-* (see No. 27)+(*kl*)*utteren* 'met eenige ratelinge schudden of hutsen.'

36. *Kmot*, *komot* 'Schmutz, Dreck' : *k(ot)*, *ko(t)*+*mot* 'Kot, weiche Erde' (NE. *mud* 'Kot' etc.). Schr. 42.

37. *Knabestern* : *knab(bern)* 'mit Geräusch nagen' (obersächs. *knäbbarn* 'belfern, mürrisch reden')+(*kn*)*estern* (LG. *knastern* 'knirschen'). Schr. 25 f.

38. *Chräbüslen* 'kitzeln' : *chräb(ben)* 'kratzen, krauen'+*chrüslen* 'sanft kitzeln' Schweiz. Id., III, 788. Schr. 123.

39. *Krakeelen* 'zanken, schreien' : LG., Du. *krak(en)* 'krachen'+WFlem. (*kr*)*eelen* 'zanken' (Fr. *quereller*). Schr. 126 ff.

40. *Kramatz* 'unnützer Kram' : *kram*+(*kr*)*atz* 'Abgeschabtes, Abfall.' Schr. 128.

41. *Chramüslen* 'leise kitzeln, krauen, krabbeln; wimmeln' :

*chram(slen)* 'wimmeln, krabbeln, kribbeln; prickeln, jucken' + (*chr*)*üslen* 'sanft kitzeln' Schweiz. Id. Schr. 123.

42. *Labander* 'langer, schlaffer Mensch' : *lab(ben)* 'schlaft u. träge hängen' (EFries. *laf* 'schlaft, matt, schwach,' etc.) + (*l*)*ander* 'Zaunstange,' 'Latte.' Schr. 42.

43. *Labatschi* 'Narr, Laffe, Töpel' : *lab(et)* 'einfältig, läppisch' + (*l*)*atschi* 'ein in Gang, Kleidung u. Benehmen nachlässiger Mensch.' Schr. 43.

44. *Labummeln* : *lab(ben)* + (*l*)*ummeln* (or [*b*]*ummeln*). Schr. 44.

45. *Lagäutschi* 'Strolch, nichtsnutziger Kerl' : *lag(gai)* 'Lakai; Dummkopf, Müssiggänger' (cf. Pruss. *lakeidern* 'zwecklos hin u. her rennen, fahren, bummeln,' perhaps from *Lakai* + ?) + (*l*)*äutschi* 'umherstreichender Mensch, Faulenzer, Wüstling.' Schr. 44 f.

46. *Lakunger* 'Müssiggänger' : MLG. *lak* 'schlaft, lose' + (*l*)*ungern*. Schr. 45.

47. *Läppatschig* 'plump' : *läpp(isch)* + (*l*)*atschig* 'latschend mit breitem schlürfendem Gange, nachlässig, schlaft.' Schr. 45.

48. *Latattere* 'alte, grosse Laterne' : *lat(erne)* + (*l*)*attere* Els. Wb. Schr. 207.

49. *Lateische* 'Laterne' : *lat(erne)* + (\**l*)*äusche*. Schr. 45.

50. *Latüchte* 'Laterne' : *lat(erne)* + (*l*)*üchte* 'Leuchte, Laterne.' Schr. 46.

51. *Lawatsch* 'schwatzhafte, oft auch tölpelhafte, träge Person' : *law-*, *lab-* (see No. 42) + *latsch* 'ein bes. im Gehn u. Sprechen träger Mensch, Mensch von unfestem Charakter.' Schr. 46.

52. *Lawattel* 'spöttische Bezeichnung für einen dummen, tölpelhaften Menschen' : *lāw(ər)* 'grosser, unverständiger Mensch' (*lāwra* 'sich läppisch benehmen' etc. Els. Wb., cf. Nos. 42, 51) + (*l*)*attel* 'einfältiger, kraftloser, fauler Mensch.' Schr. 47.

53. *Malauchen* 'stehlen, naschen; fälschen; einer Kuh die Hörner stutzen u. Klauen verkürzen, um sie jünger erscheinen zu lassen,' *vermalaucht* 'verflucht, vermaledait,' etc. : *mal(efitz)* 'verflucht, böse' (*maledien* etc.) + (*m*)*auchen* 'heimlich machen' (*meucheln* etc.). Schr. 48. Similarly *malöggi* 'widerlicher, unreinlicher, einfältiger Mensch' : *mal-* + (*m*)*öggel* 'russiger, schmutziger Kerl.' Schr. 48 f.

54. *Manoggeli* 'kleiner Mann,' *mannoggel* 'bewegliche Puppe in



Gestalt eines Mannes' : *mann*+(*m*)*ockli* 'dicker, fatter, kurzer Mensch.' Schr. 49.

55. *Manuffel* 'Schelte für ein hässliches Weib' : *mán(ik)* 'störrig, halsstarrig' +(*m*)*uffel* 'hässlicher Mund, Maul' Els. Wb. Schr. 49.

56. *Maruckel* 'unordentliche, zerlumpt gehende Weibsperson' : *mar(a)* 'Stute; sittenloses Frauenzimmer' Els. Wb. +(*m*)*uckel* 'Schwein; kleine wolgenährte Weibsperson.' Schr. 50. Similarly *Maruschel* 'Scheltname für eine unbändige wilde Weibsperson' : *mar(a)*+(*m*)*uschel* 'Scheltname für eine nachlässige Weibsperson.' Schr. 51.

57. *Pladâks* 'platsch, bezeichnet den Schall fallender Körper' : Pruss. *plad(dern)* 'plätschernd giessen, stark regnen, dass die Tropfen mit Geräusch aufschlagen' (EFries. *pladdern* 'ein platschendes od. klatschendes Geräusch machen,' etc.) + Wfal. (*pl*)*âks* 'Knall u. Fall.' Schr. 174.

58. *Pladauks* *interj.* 'zur Bezeichnung des Schalles beim Wurf eines Steines ins Wasser, beim Fall von Fläche auf Fläche' : *plad(der)* 'das glatt daliegende Flüssige, Weiche' (*pladdern* etc., cf. the above) +(*pl*)*auksch* *interj.*, 'zur Bezeichnung des Tones, den ein ins Wasser fallender Körper od. eine mit einem Guss ausgeschüttete Flüssigkeit verursacht' (*plaukschen* 'mit Schall ausgiessen'). Schr. 174. Similarly *pladauz* : *plad*-(*pl*)*auz*, etc.

59. *Pladetsche*<sup>n</sup> 'plaudern' : *plad(iere)*<sup>n</sup> 'reden, eigentl. vom Advokaten: schnell u. aufgeregt, mit Handbewegungen sprechen; ausplaudern' +(*pl*)*etschen* etc. Schr. 175.

60. *Pladompen* 'met gerucht plompen,' 'plumpen' De Bo : *plad*- (cf. Nos. 57, 58 and early Flem. *pladeren* 'blaterare, garrare' Kil.) + (*pl*)*ompen* 'plumpen.'

61. *Plakijsteren* 'beklijsteren, bekladden, bemorsen,' 'beschmutzen' De Bo : *plak(ken)* 'bezetten of bepleisteren met gips, moortel, leem,' 'maculare' Kil. +(*pl*)*ijsteren* 'crustare, gypsare' Kil. (Du. *pleisteren*). Similarly *plakaasteren* (De Bo s.v. *plamoesteren*) : *plak*-(*pl*)*aasteren*.

62. *Plamaaster* 'eig. zooveel als plaaster, doch met een bijgedacht van bevuiling; kaakslag,' 'Schmutz; Ohrfeige' De Bo : *plam*-MDu. *plamen* 'uitvlakken, -schrappen' +(*pl*)*aaster* 'Pflaster, Mörtel.' Similarly formed are WFlem. *plamakke* 'iets dat lijk een plaaster



of klad ergens oplit, plakijster' : *plam-*+(*pl*)*akken* No. 61; *plamoes-teren*,<sup>1</sup> *plamoezen* 'beschmutzen,' LG. *plamüstern* 'herumwühlen, herumstöbern' : *plam-*+LG. (*pl*)*üstern* 'zerzausen, durchwühlen'; Du. *plamuren* : *plam-*+

63. *Polagge* 'Holzklapper, Holzhammer, der an ein Brett befestigt ist und durch Schütteln pocht' : *po(chen)*+(*p*)*lagge* (*plaggeln* 'klappern, klatschen'). Schr. 178.

64. *Pollaren* 'schwatzen' : *pol(tern)*+(*p*)*laren*; *pollatschen* : *pol-*+(*p*)*latschen* 'plappern.' Schr. 138 ff.

65. *Rabakkern* 'von scharf treibenden Reitern gebraucht,' *rabakken* 'rasseln, klappern, ein Getöse machen, klopfen, hämmern, als wenn man ein altes Gestell zerbricht,' etc. : *ra(kk-)* (cf. Pruss. *racks* 'Knacks,' Brem. *rikrakken* 'etw. hin u. her bewegen u. es dadurch los u. gebrechlich machen,' NE. *rack*, etc.)+*bakkern* (*bäck-eren pakera* 'schnell gehen' No. 11, Pruss. *bachern* 'wild umherjagen'). So also WFlem. *radokkeren* 'met een dof en daverend gerucht over iets voortschokken' : *ra(kk-)*+*dokkeren* 'herhaaldelijk dokken, kloppen of botsen' De Bo. Schr. 57 f.

66. *Rabanzen* 'geschäftig sein,' 'lärmend wirtschaften' Hertel, *rawanzen* 'tolles Wesen treiben, herumrasen' Els. Wb. : MHG. *rab(ïne)* 'das Rennen'+(*r*)*anzen* 'ungestüm hin u. her springen.' Schr. 58. Similarly *rabaschen* : *rab-*+(*r*)*aschen*. Schr. 59; *rabasen* 'tollen, rasen, lärmern' : *rab-*+(*r*)*asen*; *rabasseln*; 'geräuschvoll hantieren, lärmend herumwirtschaften, rasselnd arbeiten' : *rab-*+(*r*)*asseln*; *rabasteln*, *rabastern* : *rab-*+(*r*)*asteln* (*r*)*astern*, etc., etc. Schr. 59 ff.

67. *Ragozzen* 'im Scherz raufen' Schmid : *rag(ele<sup>n</sup>)* 'lärmern, brüllen' Els. Wb.+(*r*)*otzen* (MHG. *rohezære* 'ausgelassener, lärmender Bursche'). Schr. 66.

68. *Ramasseln* 'geräuschvoll tätig sein, rasseln, klappern, hämmern u. klopfen' : *ram(meln)* 'wiederholt u. öfters stossen, schlagen, klopfen od. mit Lärm hin u. her stossen od. schlagen, klappern, lärmern' Koolman+(*r*)*asseln*. Similarly *ramasteln* : *ram-*+(*r*)*asteln* (cf. No. 66). Schr. 61.

<sup>1</sup> Schr. 176 f. says: "Die vläm. worte werden von De Bo Westvl. idiot. 752b aufgeführt, aber ohne eine etymologische bemerkung." And yet there stands: "Hetzelde als *Plamaasteren*," and under *plamaaster* reference is made to *Radakken*, where all such words are explained (cf. No. 13).

69. *Ranunkel* 'unordentliches Weibsbild' : *ran(zen)* 'Sack; Bauch' + (r)unkel 'Runzel.' Schr. 67. So also synon. *rakunkel* : *rak-(Racker)* + (r)unkel.

70. *Rapuse, Rabuse* 'Wirrwar, Gerümpel' : *rap(peln), rab(beln)* 'irre u. wirr od. verrückt sein' Koolman + (r)üse 'Geräusch, Lärm, Wirrwar etc.' K. Schr. 67 ff.

71. *Rareifen* 'lärmen, schreien' Fr. : *rar(en)* 'tosend brüllen, stark schreien' + MHG. (r)eifen 'raufen.'

72. *Rasaunen* : *ras(en)* + (r)aunen. Schr. 74.

73. *Rumpumpeln* : *rum(peln)* + *pumpeln* (or *rump[eln]* + [r]umpeln, see below).

74. *Salbadern, \*slabadern* : *slab-* (*schlabbere* 'dünnflüssige Speisen gierig u. mit Geräusch genießen; unverständlich plappern' Els. Wb., *schlabbern* 'lappend u. schlüpfend saufen; schwatzen, plappern' Fr.) + (sl)adern 'plappern.' Schr. 178 ff.

75. *Scharrassel, Scharrachtel, Scharrumbel* 'verächtliche Ausdrücke für altes Weib' Follmann : *scharr-* (MHG. *scharren* 'coitus') + (sch)assel (Als. *schass* 'Schelte für eine Weibsperson' Els. Wb., MHG. *schaz* 'vulva'); *scharr-* + (sch)achtel 'Spott- oder Schimpfname für ein altes, schwatzhafte Weib' Follmann; *scharr-* + (schr)umpel 'Runzel; runzelvolles Frauenzimmer.' Cf. also Steir. *Scharbetze* 'altes, abgelebtes Weib' Unger-Khull 533 : *schar-* + *petze, bätz* 'Hündin, Hure.'

76. *Scharwänzeln* : *schar(ren)* + (sch)wänzeln. Schr. 199.

77. *Schatimbern* 'dunkel werden' : *schat(ten)* + (sch)imbern 'schattig, dunkel sein oder werden.' Schr. 77.

78. *Schatudel* 'schlechtes Volk' Mi 75a : *schat(ull)* 'verächtlicher Ausdruck für altes Weib' Follmann, Lux. *schadull* 'Schachtel, ältliches Frauenzimmer' + (sch)udel 'ein nachlässiger, wie auch ein sich übereilender, leichtsinniger Mensch' Campe. Schr. 77.

79. *Schawakeln* 'hin u. her rütteln, schütteln' : *schaw-* (Pruss. *schabbeln, schawweln* 'unsicher, schwankend gehen' Fr.) + (sch)akeln (EFries. *schaken* 'stossen, rücken' etc.). Schr. 77. Similarly *schawukken* : *schaw-* + (sch)ukken; *schawuppen* : *schaw-* + (sch)uppen. Schr. 78 f.

80. *Slabacken* 'labescere, languescere, deficere, laxari' Kil., Du. *slabakken* 'träge, schlapp sein, werden' : *slab-* (ON. *slafask*

'abnehmen, nachlassen,' early Flem. *slabben* 'distillare, sive fundere inter sorbendum') + WFlem. (*sl*)*akken* 'schlapp sein, werden.' Schr. 182 f. Similarly from *slabb-*, *slab-* 'soft, limp; anything soft or liquid' come the following: Hamburg. *slabörden* 'verschwenden, aufzehren, auf unnütze Weise vergenden': *slab-* + EFries. (*sl*)*orden*; Swiss *Schlabutz* 'Schnaps; dünner flüssiger Frass, üppige Fresserei': *schlab-* + (*schl*)*utz* (Als. *schlutzen* 'saugen, lutschen, schlürfen' etc.). Schr. 182 ff.

81. *Sladacke* 'klatschsüchtiges Frauenzimmer, das sich viel ausser dem Hause umhertreibt,' *sladacken* 'schnell laufen; schnell sprechen': *sla(dden)* 'schwatzhaftes Frauenzimmer' (EFries. *sladden* 'klatschen, klatschend rennen' etc.) + *dacke*, Mädchen, welches viel umherläuft; *Klatsche*, 'dacken' 'umherlaufen; klatschen' Woeste. Schr. 188. Cf. No. 23.

82. *Sladatsche* 'schwatzhaftes Weibsbild' Woeste: *sla(dakke)* + (*kla*)*datsche* 'Klatsche' No. 30. Schr. 188 f.

83. *Schlakanter* 'Herumtreiber, Mensch in schmutzigen, zerissenen Kleidern' Fr.: *schlak(kern)* 'schlenkern, zwecklos gehen' (*schläkern* 'nachlässig gehen, überhaupt nachlässig hin u. her bewegen,' MLG. *slak* 'schlaff') + (*schl*)*anter* (LG. *slantern*, *slentern* 'schlendern'). Schr. 192. Cf. Pruss. *kaschantern* 'sich auf der Strasse herumtreiben.'

84. *Schlakeidern* 'unstet umhergehn, in weiten schwingenden Kleidern': *schlak-* (as above) + (*schl*)*eidern* 'schleudern, schlendern.' Schr. 192 f. Cf. Pruss. *lakeidern* 'zwecklos hin u. her rennen, fahren; bummeln' No. 45.

85. *Schlamätere* 'geschwind gehen; ohne Sorgfalt gehen, schlendern,' *schlamäteri* 'Schlenderer, der beim Gehen die Füße verschränkt; Lümmel' Els. Wb.: *schlam-* (cf. MHG. *slamen* 'umkehren, stürzen, bewegen,' Norw. dial. *slam* 'schlaff,' *slama* 'sich schleppend vorwärts bewegen,' aisl. *slóma* 'schwingen,' and also Als. *schlampe* 'nachlässig umhergehen') + (*schl*)*attern* 'schlottern.' Schr. 193.

86. *Slammattje* 'eine faule plauderhafte Schleppschwester,' *slammuttje* 'schmutziges Weibsbild': *slamm-* (Westf. *slamsack(en)* 'Schwätzer,' 'schwätzen,' *slampe* 'nachlässiges liederliches Frauenzimmer') + (*sl*)*atje* 'eine schmutzige Dirne,' (*schl*)*utte* 'Schlampe' etc. Schr. 193 f. Similarly *schlamune* 'unordentliches, schmutziges

Weibsbild' : *schlam*-+(*sch*)*lune* (MLG. *slüne* 'Beischläferin, gemeines Weib' etc.). Schr. 194.

87. *Schlampumper* 'weites Morgenkleid, bequemer Hausrock' : *schlamp(er)* 'schleppender Weiberrock'+(*schl*)*umper* 'alter bequemer Rock, Hausrock, Schlafrock.' Schr. 194.

88. *Schlaraffe* 'Müssiggänger' : *schlar*- (NHG. *schlarfen*, MHG. *slerfen* 'die Füße schleppend einhergehen' Swed. *slarva* 'nachlässig sein,' Pruss. *schlarren* 'schleifend, schlarfend gehen,' Norw. *slarra* 'schlendern,' *slōra* 'saumselig sein, sich schleppend bewegen,' ON. *slōra* 'faulenzten' etc.)+(*schl*)*affe* 'der Schlarffe.' So also *schlaruff(e)* : *schlar*-(*schl*)*uffe* (Swiss *schluffi* 'schläfrige, unbrauchbare Person' etc.); MHG. *slūraffe* : *slūr* 'träge, faule, leichtsinnige Person, Faulenzer' (MLG. *slūren* 'schlottern, los u. welk hangen, träge sein,' Norw. dial. *slūre* 'träger Mensch' etc.)+(*sl*)*affe*; *schlarunke* 'langsame, träge, dumme Person' : *schlar*-(*schl*)*unk* 'Schlingel, Müsiggänger.' Schr. 195 f.

89. *Schmalieren*: *schmal(gen)* 'schmieren'+(*schm*)*ieren*. Schr. 82.

90. *Schmarlecks* 'Leckerbissen' : Bav. *schmar(ren)* 'Brocken, Stück, Bissen'+(*sch*)*lecks* (MHG. *slec* 'schleckerei,' *slecken* 'naschen'). Schr. 81. Similarly Augsb. *schmarollen* 'eine Art Klösse' : *schmar*-(*sch*)*molle* 'Fettklumpen.' Schr. 83.

91. *Schmarrauchen* 'schmarotzen' Els. Wb. : Bav. *schmarr(en)* 'karg, geizig sein u. handeln' (*schmarrisch* 'sparsam, karg, kärglich,' *schmarren* 'gar zu karger, häuslicher Mensch' Bayer. Wb.)+Swiss (*schm*)*auchen* 'verbergen, verheimlichen, od. Esswaren heimlich entwenden' etc. So also *schmarotzen* : *schmar*-(*schm*)*otzen* (Kärnt. *schmoutz'n* 'schmarotzen.' Norw. *smȳta* 'heimlich wegnehmen, verstecken'); *schmalotzen* : *schmal*- (MHG. *smal* 'gering, kärglich,' *smollen* 'schmarotzen')+(*schm*)*otzen*. Schr. 82 ff.

92. *Schrafazen, schrapazen* 'schröpfen' Bayer. Wb. II, 598, 610: Bav. *schraf(en)* 'ritzen, kratzen, Einschmitte machen,' *schrap(pen)* 'scharren, schaben'+MHG. (*schr*)*atzen* 'ritzen, kratzen.'

93. *Stopōzen* 'stolpern' Lexer : *stop*- (MHG. *stoppen, stopfen* 'palpare, palpitare, pedibus incongrue ire')+(*st*)*ōzen* 'stossen.' Schr. 80.

94. *Zalaschen* 'herumschleichen' Bayer. Wb.: *za(schen)* 'ziehen,

schleppen; langsam arbeiten, schlendern' + *laschen* (cf. *lasch* 'schlaff, matt' Weigand, *läsch* 'schlaff, nachlässig in der Arbeit' Els. Wb., and also *latschen* 'träge herumschelnern' Els. Wb., 'sich herumtreiben, schlapp einhergehen, faulenzten' Lothr. Wb., Bayer. Wb.). Schr. 75.

95. *Zawatzen* 'beschlafen': *za(tzen)* (Bav. *zatz* 'Hündin; Weibsperson,' Swab. *zatz, zätz* 'Hündin,' Bav. *zetzen* 'vexieren, foppen') + (z)*watzen* (MHG. *zwatzler, zwetzler* 'penis,' Bav. *zwazeln* 'zapeln'). Schr. 76.

Like the above in principle are Schröder's so-called "präduplizierende streckformen." The only difference is that in the following the supposed extended forms are the result of the repetition of the same word with the suppression of the initial consonants in the second part. Thus if *thud-thüdding* (No. I, 9) had been so dissimilated, it would have become \**thudüdding*; and Goethe's *Klimpimpimperlied* (vgl. Schr. 214) is simply *klimp(kl)imp(kl)imperlied*, and nothing else.

96. *Humpumpen* 'hinken': *hump-(h)umpen* Schr. 214.—*Kleppeppern* 'dreschen': *klepp-(kl)eppern* 207.—*Latattere* 'Mund; Person mit breitem Mund': *lat-(l)attere* 207.—*Plappapper* 'Geschwätz': *plapp-(pl)apper* 206.—*Plämpämperlen* 'schlenkern': *plämp-(pl)ämpperlen* 213.—*Pumpumpel* 'Gepolter': *pump-(p)umpel* 214.—*Rumpumpeln* 'sehr rumpeln': *rump-(r)umpeln* 215 (or cf. No. 73).—*Schlampampen*: *schlamp-(schl)ampen* 211.—*Schlankankel* 'langer, schlanker, unbeholfener Mensch': *Schlank-(schl)ankel* 216.—*Schwememperlig* 'taumelig, schwindlicht, elend, schwach': *schwemp-(schw)emperlig* 213.—*Schnäppäppern* 'in einem fort schwätzen': *schnäpp-(schn)äppern* 207, etc., etc.

#### VII. COMPOUNDS WITH AN UNSTRESSED FORE-SYLLABLE

According to Schröder all of the following examples would be "streckformen." For since there is no such prefix as *ka(r)-* (cf. Schr. 38, 40, etc.), his theory<sup>1</sup> demands that we call them "streckformen."

But facts are stubborn things; and the wise man will not seek to

<sup>1</sup> "Man kann auf vielerlei Weise irren; aber am sichersten an der Hand einer blindlings befolgten Methode" [oder Theorie]." Richard M. Meyer, *Germ.-rom. Monatschrift*, II, 642.

hide or to deny them, but will try to make his theory conform to them. The facts are that a large number of genuine Germ. words have an unaccented fore-syllable *ka(r)*-, *kə(r)*-. If Schröder is unwilling to call this a prefix, let him call it an unstressed prefixed syllable. Most writers would prefer the shorter term.

In Eng. this prefix is *kə*- or *kər*-, spelled *ca*-, *ker*, *cur*-; in German and Dutch it is *ka*-, *kar*-. In Eng., or at least American, popular speech, this prefix may be used with any word expressive of the sound of a blow or a fall, as : *ke(r)bang*, *ke(r)plunk*, *ke(r)whack* etc. In Ger. and Du. it is apparently not so productive.

The origin of this "unstressed introductory syllable" is doubtful. According to Cent. Dict., XI, 681, "it probably originated in the involuntary utterance which often precedes a sudden physical effort as in striking with an ax or hammer or paving-rammer." Or it may have been abstracted from the initial sounds of words denoting a sudden blow or fall (cf. No. VI, 26). Perhaps we may also speak of a prefix *kla*- abstracted from such words as *clack*, *clap*, *clash*, *clatter*, etc. (cf. No. VI, 28). And, to mention no other, a prefix, or unstressed introductory syllable *te*- occurs in provincial English, as *te-lick*, *te-smäck*, etc. 'as fast as possible.' This resulted from the abbreviation of such words as *nickety-knock*, *lickety-cût*, *hippety-hóp* etc. (cf. III, 7).

1. *Cabobble* 'mystify, puzzle, confuse' Wr. I, 478 : *bob* 'surprise,' *bobble* 'bob up and down' Wr. I, 321, *bubble* 'dupe, gull' Sl.

2. *Caboodle* 'the whole lot, gang' Dial. Notes, III, 5 : *boodle* 'the whole' *ibid.*, 4, 'crowd, company' Sl.

3. *Ke(r)chug* adv. 'with a sudden dull thud' : *chug* 'a dull sound, thud.'

4. *Kerchunk* 'with a sudden heavy blow or thump' : *chunk* 'a short thick piece, as of wood' Cent.

5. *Ke(r)flap* adv. 'with a sudden flap' : *flap*.

6. *Ke(r)flop* adv. 'with a sudden flop' : *flop*.

7. *Curflummux* adv., used of a heavy fall Wr., *kerflummux* 'fall in a heap' Dial. Notes, *kerflummux* 'bewilder, daze' Dial. Notes, III, 62: *flummox* 'bewilder, perplex, puzzle' Wr.

8. *Carfuddle* 'discompose, rumple, crease' Jam. : *fuddle* 'confuse, stupefy.'

9. *Car-*, *curfuffle* 'disarrange, throw into confusion; sb. fuss, excitement' Wr. : *fuffle* 'ruffle, throw into disorder; dishevel' Wr.

10. *Car-*, *curfumish* 'diffuse a very bad smell' Jam. : *fume*.

11. *Curglaff*, *-gloff* 'the shock felt in bathing at the first plunge into cold water,' *curgloft* 'panic-struck' Wr. : *glaff* 'a sudden blast' puff of wind' Wr.

12. *Cahoots* 'partnership; collusion' in the expression "in cahoots with" Dial. Notes, III, 60 : *hoot* 'business, affair, concern' Wr.

13. *Curjute* 'overwhelm, overthrow, esp. used by children when small banks or dams they make are carried off by water; overpower by means of intoxicating liquor' Jam. : *jute* 'tipple,' 'weak or dul liquor, tea' Jam.

14. *Curmudge* Jam., *curmudgeon* Wr. 'a mean fellow' : *mudge* 'sludge, mud' Wr.

15. *Curmur* 'the purring of the cat,' *curmurring* 'murmuring, grumbling' Wr. : *murmur*.

16. *Curnab* 'pilfer' Jam. : *nab* 'seize, snatch.'

17. *Canoodle* 'fondle, dally,' 'be silly' B.-L. : *noodle*.

18. *Kerplunk* adv. 'with a sudden 'plunk' or plunge' Cent. : *plunk* 'knock, bang.'

19. *Kerslam* adv. 'with a slam' : *slam*.

20. *Kerslap*, *-slop* adv. 'with a sudden slap or loud slapping blow' Cent. : *slap*.

21. *Kersmash* adv. 'with a sudden smash' : *smash*.

22. *Kerspank* adv. 'with a spanking sound' : *spank*.

23. *Kersplash* adv. 'with a sudden splash' : *splash*.

24. *Caswash* 'describes the sound made by a body of falling water' Dial. Notes : *swash*.

25. *Kerwallop* adv. 'with a sudden wallop or onrush' Cent. : *wallop*.

26. *Kerwhack* adv. 'with a sudden whack' Cent. : *whack*.

27. Du. dial. Antw. *kababbelen* 'oppeuzelen, smakelijk opeten': *opbabbelen* ds. C. en V., *babbelen* 'plappern.'

28. Du. dial. *kabonkel* 'harde kaakslag' : *bonk* 'luide slag' C. en V.

29. WFlem. *kabooten*, *kabooteren* 'booten, met herhaalde slagen slaan': *booten* 'schlagen' De Bo.



30. Antw. *kabotteren*, 'versterking van botteren' : *botteren* 'stom-melen, en dof gerucht maken,' 'poltern' C. en V. Cf. *klabotteren* with same meaning.

31. WFlem. *kabots* 'plumps!' : *bots* 'stoot, fr. heurt,' *botsen* 'tegen iets hard stooten, fr. heurter.' In Brugge (Bruges) *kabouks*: *bouksen* De Bo.

32. East Fries. *kabúf*, *kebúf* 'Ruf oder Wort, womit man einen polternden Sturz oder Fall von etwas bezeichnet' : *buf*, *buff*. 'Schlag, Stoss' Koolman.

33. Westf. *kabús* 'bauz! puff!' : *bús* 'Schall, Stoss' Woeste.

34. WFlem. *kadanse* 'danskroeg, herbergje waar's zondags gedanst wordt' : *dans* De Bo.

35. EFries. *kedikkern*, *kedakkern* 'traben, in kurzem Galopp gehen oder fahren und reiten, rasch mit hüpfendem stossendem Gange gehen oder sich fortbewegen' : *dakkern* 'rasch und hörbar gehen' Koolman.

36. Antw. *kadodder* 'klein ingedrongen mannekin,' 'undersized person' C. en V. : WFlem. *dodder* 'dot, duts, verwarde bundel vlas, hooi, stroo' De Bo.

37. WFlem. *kadotteren*, *kadodderen* 'sterk daveren, dotteren' : *dotteren* 'zittern, beben' De Bo, NE. *dodder* 'shake, tremble,' *dudder* 'shiver,' etc.

38. Antw. *kadul* 'dronkaard' : *dul* 'razend gram of zinnelos' C. en V.

39. NHG. dial. *kāfúp* 'Sprung,' *kāfúptax* 'hops' : *fup* 'Sprung' Leihener, Cronenberger Wb.

40. Antw. *kajanken* 'het janken von honden,' *kajonkelen* 'janken van eenen hond' C. en V., Ger. dial. *kajinken* 'klagend winseln, heulen' Fr. : Du. *janken* 'heulen, winseln, murren,' dial. *jonkelen*, same. The ablaut-form *jinken* need give no one pause, cf. II.

41. East Fries. *karjolen*, *kar-*, *kerjōlen* 'laut u. lärmend singen' Koolman, Westf. *karjolen*, *krajōlen* 'schreien' Woeste, Waldeck. *karjole<sup>n</sup>* 'schreien, jauchzen' : NHG. *jolen*. Cf. Westf. *scharjolen* and Pruss. *kanjolen*.

42. Pruss. *kalaschen* 'prügeln' : *laschen* 'derb ausprügeln,' NE. *lash* 'hauen, peitschen, geisseln,' OE. *læsce* 'lash.'

43. Antw. *kalut* 'dwaas en halfgek vrouwmensch' : *lut*, same, C. en V.

44. Antw. *kawauwelen*, *kawauwen* 'wauwelen, babbelen,' 'schwätzen' C. en V., Pruss. *karwauen* 'klagen, jammern' (*karmen* 'jammern') Fr. : Antw. *wauwen* 'schwätzen.'

45. Pruss. *karwendig* 'munter, unbesorgt, schnell u. geschickt in der Bewegung' : *wendig* 'munter, geschäftig, geschickt' Fr.

46. Pruss. *kaschantern* 'sich auf der Strasse herumtreiben' Fr. Tirol. *tschandern* 'müssig herumgehen' Frommann, Die d. Mundarten, 452.

In conclusion it may be said that Schröder's theory of "streckformen" is untenable. It is based on incorrect premises and wrong conclusions. And even if it were true, it would not be a contribution to the science of language. For in most cases the assumed infixes must be regarded as mechanically and arbitrarily inserted. When words are so formed, they throw no more light upon the development of language than do the words of any artificial language. It is true, as Schröder asserts in his preface, "dass es für die Lösung der Grundfragen der Sprachwissenschaft viel wichtiger ist, das Leben der Volksmundarten zu erforschen als das Leben der Schriftsprachen." But we shall learn no more from the study of words arbitrarily formed by the schoolboy or the peasant than from those that have been coined by the scientist or the poet.

All the so-called "streckformen" may not be blends. Some no doubt are onomatopoeic. E.g., L. M. Elshemus writes:

Then flies the nighthawk high,  
With eyes intent on prey in nooks and trees;  
While shrill *crebeaking* as he wheels at ease,  
His mate joins! When they meet *puftute* they cry;

or again:

The red-black marsh-bird, sweet *bree-reeing*  
In joy, then swaying, swiftly fleeing (cf. Mead 113 f.).

Here *crebeaking*, *puftute*, *bree-reeing* are exactly such words as Schröder calls "streckformen," and by him ought to be referred to *creak*, *\*pute*, and *\*bree*. But the shrill note of the nighthawk is not a creak by any stretch of the imagination—except in the imagination

of a stretchformer—and \**pute* and \**bree* do not exist at all. These words are simply imitative, though the author may have had other words in mind. The same may be said of Eng. dial. *curroo*, *curdoo* 'coo,' and *cree-creeery* 'the cry of the groundlark' Wr.

Of imitative origin are also Pruss. *kadâksen*, *kaduksen*, 'kadâks schreien wie ein Huhn, das ein Ei gelegt hat' (Schr. 32). It is the same word as Lith. *kadâkszcziôti* 'vom Huhn gackern, wenn es z.B. ein Ei gelegt hat' (Kurschat), formed from *kadėti* 'gackern.' Schröder ought to have mentioned also Pruss. *kaldâksen* 'gackern, namentlich von dem eigentümlichen Geschrei der Hühner nach dem Eierlegen,' *kalduksen* 'laut schallende Töne lachend ausstossen,' which are blends of *kadâksen*, *kaduksen*, and *kalakeln* 'gackern' (Fr.). As for *kalakeln*, this may be either a blend of *kallen* (EFries. 'schwätzen, plaudern,' MLG., MHG. *kallen*, OHG. *kallôn* Lat. *gallus*) and *kakeln* 'gackern' or else onomatopoetic, like Eng. *cutcutcudâhcud* 'cackle.'

Finally, some of the supposed "stretchformen" may be simply perversions, like Eng. dial. *dollymosh* 'demolish' Wr., *collymolly* 'melancholy' (cf. IV, 33), *hockholler* 'hollyhock' Wr., *pereat* 'repeat,' NHG. Als. *kapet* 'Packet' etc.

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## KING JAMES I AND *THE DEVIL IS AN ASS*

Ben Jonson's satirical comedy, *The Devil Is an Ass*, was presented by the King's Players in 1616 at the Blackfriars. Its contemptuous attitude toward witchcraft and demoniacal possession has been much discussed and heartily approved, but the editors and critics have overlooked a number of circumstances that are highly significant.

We may first notice the scornful words of Satan to Pug, almost at the beginning of the play. They contain a remarkable fling at the credulity of Middlesex juries:

You have some plot now  
Upon a tunning of ale, to stale the yeast,  
Or keep the churn so that the butter come not,  
Spite o' the housewives cord, or her hot spit?  
Or some good ribibe about Kentish Town,  
Or Hogsden, you would hang now for a witch,  
Because she will not let you play round Robin;  
And you'll go sour the citizens' cream 'gainst Sunday,  
That she may be accus'd for't, and condemn'd  
By a Middlesex jury, to the satisfaction  
Of their offended friends, the Londoners' wives,  
Whose teeth were set on edge with it? (I, i, 12-23)<sup>1</sup>

The allusion is obviously to three witch trials of the preceding year. In 1615 Elizabeth Rutter, Joan Hunt, and Agnes Berry had severally been convicted of witchcraft by Middlesex juries and hanged. Agnes Berry was charged with causing Grace Halsey to "languish and waste away." Joan Hunt was indicted for bewitching to death an infant of three years. Against Elizabeth Rutter there were no less than four indictments, three of them for murder by

<sup>1</sup>The following remark about Middlesex juries is worth quoting here. It occurs in a letter from Bacon to James I (January 22, 1616) concerning the trial of Somerset for the murder of Overbury: "I said to your Majesty that which I do now repeat, that the evidence upon which my Lord of Somerset standeth indicted is of a good strong thread, considering poisoning is the darkest of offences; but that the thread must be well spun and woven together. For your Majesty knoweth it is one thing to deal with a jury of Middlesex and Londoners, and another to deal with the Peers; whose objects perhaps will not be so much what is before them in the present case (which I think is as odious to them as to the vulgar) but what may be hereafter" (Spedding, *Letters and Life of Bacon*, V, 231).

witchcraft.<sup>1</sup> These trials must have made a great noise, for the hanging of witches was a rare event in Middlesex. Mr. Jeaffreson, the editor of the *Middlesex Records*, has found only these three executions for witchcraft in that county during the whole of James the First's reign,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Inderwick has discovered only eight such executions in Middlesex for a period of over one hundred and sixteen years (1550-1666).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, then, the cases of 1615 were what suggested to Jonson the composition of a play which should satirize witchcraft.

In the fifth act Jonson brought in a scene of sham demoniacal possession. His procedure can hardly have been directly suggested by the Middlesex trials of the preceding year, for these involved neither possession nor fraud. There are, to be sure, cases of demoniacal possession in Machiavelli's *Belfegor*, but the patients are really possessed and the circumstances have no resemblance to those in the drama. Indeed, Jonson owes nothing to the *Belfegor* except perhaps the mere hint for Pug's futile expedition to this world. The most superficial comparison of the drama with the novel will suffice to show that Jonson's demoniac scene is not indebted to the *Belfegor* for anything whatever, in general or in particular. It is absolutely independent of the Italian in all respects. We cannot even hold that the *Belfegor* suggested to Jonson the inclusion of a demoniac scene. For our present purposes, then, the *Belfegor* may be ignored, and the same is true of *Friar Rush*. What we need is a notorious example of fraudulent possession occurring just before the play appeared, and the impostor should be a boy of about thirteen. For Meercraft, in persuading Fitzdottrel to counterfeit, remarks encouragingly—

Sir, be confident,  
'Tis no hard thing t' outdo the devil in:  
A boy o' thirteen year old made him an ass  
But t'other day.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Middlesex County Records*, ed. by J. C. Jeaffreson, II, 108, 110, 116, 218-19. Both Joan Hunt and her husband William had been tried on charges of witchcraft and acquitted in 1614 (II, 95, 96, 217, 218).

<sup>2</sup> II, III. There were doubtless other executions (for the records are incomplete), but there cannot have been many. One occurred in 1621 (Henry Goodcole, *The Wonderful Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer*, 1621, reprinted in Bullen's *Ford*, 1895, I, lxxxI-cvii).

<sup>3</sup> *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, 2d ed., 1891, pp. 169-70.

<sup>4</sup> V, 5, 48-51 (Jonson's numbering). It is well known that Jonson used the sixteenth-century Darrel cases for details; but what we are discussing is not the minutiae of the scene, but the moving cause, the occasion for including it at all.

The case which Meercraft cites must be that of young Smith, of Husbands Bosworth, Leicestershire. We have two accounts of the affair. One, strictly contemporary, is embodied in a letter written on July 18, 1616, by Alderman Robert Heyrick, of Leicester, to his younger brother, Sir William, in London.<sup>1</sup> The other, less accurate, but furnishing valuable details, may be found in Francis Osborne's first Essay.<sup>2</sup> The business is also mentioned in a letter from Secretary Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated October 12, 1616.<sup>3</sup>

Heyrick's letter is worth reprinting, for it is important, and Nichols's *Leicestershire* (which contains it) is not very common in this country.

Although we have bene greatly busyed this 4 or 5 days past, being syse tyme, and a busy syse speacally about the araynment of a sort of woemen, Wytches, w<sup>t</sup> 9 of them shal be executed at the gallows this fornone, for bewitching of a younge gentellman of the adge of 12 or 13 years old, beinge the soon of one Mr. Smythe, of Husbands Bosworth, brother to Mr. Henry Smythe, that made the booke which we call Mr. Smythe's Sarmous. Your man Sampson stays, and yt is to tedyous to write anny one thing unto you of the matter; and the examynacyons and finding out of the matter came to my hand in wryting just as I began your lettar. Only I will signifye unto you of the chyld's straundg fits, who was brought hythar of Sayturday last to be shewed to the Judges; and since his coming hither he hath had dyvars wonderfull straundg fyts in the syght of all the greatest parsons here, as dyvers knyghts and ladies, and manny othars of the bettar sort, most tereble to be tolld. Sir Henry Hastings hath doon what he colld to hold him in his fit; but he and another as strong as he could not hold him; yf he might have his arm at liberty, he woold stryke himsellfe suche bloes on his brest, being in his shirt, that you myght here the sound of yt the length of a long chamber, soumtymys 50 bloes, soumtymys 100, yea soumtymys 2 or

<sup>1</sup>Printed in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, II, ii, 471\*, along with another letter of Heyrick's on the further history of the case, dated October 15, 1616. Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1829, Vol. XCIX, Part II, pp. 515-16 (*Gentleman's Magazine Library*, ed. Gomme, *Popular Superstitions*, 1884, p. 235); Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III, 193, n. 1; Gifford, *Ford*, 1827, I, clxxii-clxxiii, clxxx; Dyce's *Ford*, 1869, III, 276; James Thompson, *History of Leicester*, 1849, pp. 344-45; Foss, *Judges of England*, VI, 202. Alderman Heyrick died June 14, 1618, at the age of seventy-eight: his brother, Sir William, was the king's jeweler (see Nichols, *Progresses*, II, 463, n. 3; III, 180, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup>"On such as condemn All they understand not a Reason for" (*Miscellaneous Works*, 11th ed., 1722, I, 29-31). Osborne was born in 1593; the essay was first published in 1659, the year of his death. In introducing the anecdote, he remarks, "I will here relate a Story of my own Knowledge"; but he was writing a good while after the event. Hence I ignore certain of his statements that are inconsistent with Heyrick or Chamberlain.

<sup>3</sup>Printed by Nichols, *Progresses*, III, 192-93 (cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 398).

300 bloes, that the least of them was able to stryke doune a strong man; and yet all he did to himself did him no hurt. 6 of the witches had 6 severall sperits, one in the lyknes of a hors, another like a dog, another a cat, another a pullemar,<sup>1</sup> another a fishe, another a code,<sup>2</sup> with whom evary one of them tormented him: he woold make soom syne according to the sperit; as, when the hors tormented him, he woold whinny; when the cat tormented him, he would cry like a cat, &c. When he was in his fyt, they were soomtymes brought to him, and then they were chardged to speake sarten words, and to name theare sperits, and one of them to speake yt aftar another; as thus: "I such a one chardge the hors, yf I be a wiche, that thou com forthe of the childd." And then another by her sperit to doe the like; and so till all had doone. Yf anny of them woold speake a woord contrary to that charm, he shold be myghtyly tormented; but, if he<sup>3</sup> would speake as he had first directed them, at the end of the last he woold fall out of his fit as quyetly as if one did lay him doune to slepe. For the rest, I leave till it please God we meete. Leicester, the 18th of July, 1616.

Your loving brother,  
ROBERT HEYRICKE.

Smith, it will be noted, is described by Heyrick as "a younge gentellman of the adge of 12 or 13 years old." This fits the words of our text. The recency of the occurrence is indicated by the phrase which Meercraft uses, "but t'other day." This phrase rules out the Boy of Burton (1596)<sup>4</sup> and the Boy of Northwich (1601 and 1602),<sup>5</sup> and leaves young Smith alone in the field.

Heyrick's letter enables us to identify the pretended demoniac as a nephew of Henry Smith, lecturer at St. Clement Danes, apostrophized by Nashe in *Piers Penniless* (1592) as "silver-tongued"

<sup>1</sup> A misreading for *fullemar* (a fountart or polecat).

<sup>2</sup> Clearly a misreading for *tode*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably we should read *she*.

<sup>4</sup> This was Thomas Darling of Burton-on-Trent, who was exorcised in 1596 by the famous John Darrel. He was about fourteen years old. Jonson mentions him in V, 3, 7, in connection with other supposed demoniacs relieved by "little Darrel's tricks." See Harsnet, *Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises of Iohn Darrel*, 1599, pp. 2, 22, 37, 28; Darrel, *Detection of S. Harsnet*, 1600, pp. 9-11, 16, 38-40, etc.; Darrel, *Doctrin of the Possession*, etc. (appended to his *True Narration*, 1600), pp. 6 ff., 11 ff., 26, 38.

<sup>5</sup> This was Thomas Harrison, of Northwich in Cheshire. Deacon and Walker discuss the case in their *Summarie Answers to Darrel*, 1601, pp. 70 ff. Darrel, in *A Survey of Certain Dialogical Discourses*, 1602, p. 54, says that the boy is "at this present very greuously vexed by Sathan." See particularly John Bruen's memoranda in William Hinde's *Life of Bruen* (Samuel Clarke's *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, Part II, Book II, 2d ed., 1675, pp. 94-96); cf. also Thomas Cooper, *The Mystery of Witch-craft*, 1617, sig. A 3. Gifford (after exploding Whalley's suggestion of the Boy of Bilson on the convincing ground that his fraud was four years after Jonson wrote the play) advanced the erroneous suggestion that Jonson was referring to Thomas Harrison. But Harrison's is far too early a case: 1602 was not "t'other day" in 1616.



Smith,<sup>1</sup> one of the most famous preachers of the late sixteenth century. The family was old, rich, and of high standing among the gentry.<sup>2</sup> The boy's grandfather, Erasmus Smith, had married for his second wife a sister of the great Lord Burghley. The boy's father, Roger (afterwards Sir Roger<sup>3</sup>) Smith, had many children, one of whom, Erasmus, at this time about six years old, became a distinguished educational benefactor; he was an ancestor of the present Earls of Derby (who from 1776 to 1869 bore the surname of Smith-Stanley).<sup>4</sup> The demoniac's Christian name is not mentioned, but an inspection of the Smith pedigree suffices to identify him, with considerable probability, as the eldest of Roger Smith's children by his second wife—namely John Smith, who died unmarried at the age of forty.<sup>5</sup> This identification becomes practically certain when we observe that there is a document at Belvoir Castle (referred to July, 1610) containing "an account partly taken from the depositions of Sir Henry Hastings, the High Sheriff, of the bewitching of John Smith by Randall and other witches."<sup>6</sup> Sir Henry Hastings was Sheriff of Leicestershire for one year only—the fifth of James I (1607–8).<sup>7</sup> If John Smith was thirteen years old in 1616, he must have been a child of four or five when these earlier depositions were taken before Hastings. Manifestly he suffered from hystero-epilepsy, of which lying and imposture are well-recognized symptoms.

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, 192. Nashe labels the paragraph "Encomium H. Smithi." Smith had died in the preceding year (1591). Fuller also testifies to the epithet "silver-tongued" as applied to this eloquent preacher (*Life*, prefixed to Smith's *Sermons*).

<sup>2</sup> A good account of the Smith (originally Herez) family, with pedigrees, may be found in Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, I, 180–85, 389–92. See also the pedigree in the *Visitation of the County of Leicester in 1619* (Harleian Society, II), pp. 66–67. Henry Smith, the preacher, and his nephew Erasmus are included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> He was knighted at Whitehall in 1635, and died in 1655, at the age of 84 (Nichols, II, I, 180, 185).

<sup>4</sup> Doyle, *Official Baronage*, I, 563–65.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Roger Smith's second wife, Ann Goodman, of London, who died in 1652, aged 66, had issue by him "sons and daughters twentie-two" according to her epitaph (Nichols, II, I, 181). Nobody has hitherto attempted to identify the demoniac among this wilderness of offspring, but it is quite certain that he was one of the children of this second marriage and that he was older than his brother Erasmus—and John is the only person in the pedigree who satisfies both conditions.

<sup>6</sup> *Manuscripts of the Earl of Rutland*, I, 422 (*Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IV*). The document is dated "July." The year is supplied by the cataloguer, on what grounds I do not know. The year of Sir Henry Hastings's shrievalty settles the date of the phenomena.

<sup>7</sup> Nichols, *Leicestershire*, I, 641.

The suspicion of witchcraft which his fits excited in 1607 or 1608 does not appear to have resulted in any convictions. But in 1616, as we learn from Heyrick, his disease brought about the death of nine alleged witches. Probably the malady lasted as long as he lived, for, as we have seen, he never married and he died at a comparatively early age.

Sir Henry Hastings, we observe, is mentioned in Heyrick's letter of July 18, 1616, as interested in the witch trials of that year. Doubtless (as on the previous occasion) some of the depositions were taken before him as Justice of the Peace. It is interesting to notice that this is true also of a part of the evidence in the trial of Margaret and Philip (i.e., Philippa) Flower, who were hanged in 1619 for bewitching to death two children of the Earl of Rutland.<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry was a man of importance. He was a grandson of the Earl of Huntingdon, and his seat was at Braunston, Leicestershire.<sup>2</sup>

It is natural that the second accusation of witchcraft (in 1616) should have had a more sinister outcome than the first (in 1607 or 1608). For John Smith was now old enough not only to make definite charges against particular persons, but to supply details and play tricks with that subtlety which is an effect and a symptom of his disease. And in the meantime he had of course learned much about witchcraft phenomena from the talk of his elders. We may feel confident that he had heard, for example, of the afflicted Throckmorton girls, of Warboys in Huntingdonshire, who also belonged to a distinguished county family, and whose case had received wide currency. The charm which Heyrick says the accused were made to repeat ("I such a one charge the horse, if I be a witch, that thou come forth of the child") is patterned after a formula devised by the hysterical Throckmorton girls and used in the Warboys trials ("As I am a Witch, and did consent to the death of the Lady Cromwell, so I charge the deuil to suffer Mistress Iane to come out of her fit at this present").<sup>3</sup> As in the Warboys case, the officers of the law

<sup>1</sup> *The Wonderfull Discoverie of The Witch-crafts of Margaret and Philip Flower, 1619*, sig. C 3.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Hastings of Braunston, Knight, was the son of Walter Hastings, Esq., of Kirby and Braunston, who was the sixth son of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon. Sir Henry was M.P. for the County of Leicester in 18 James I, and again in 1626. He died in September, 1649. See Nichols, *Leicestershire*, I, 456, 461; III, ii, 608; IV, ii, 610, 612, 617-19, 627.

<sup>3</sup> *The Witches of Warboys*, 1593, sig. P. 2 r.

were doubtless inclined to give readier credence to persons of the intelligence and social position of the Smiths than they would have given to ignorant villagers or farm-laborers.

The women to whose malice poor John Smith ascribed his affliction in 1616 were tried in that year at the July assizes at Leicester, before Sir Humphrey Winch (Justice of the Common Pleas) and Serjeant (Sir Randal or Ranulph) Crew. Nine were duly convicted, and they were hanged on the 18th.<sup>1</sup>

Almost exactly a month later, King James visited Leicester in the course of a royal progress. He remained there only a single day (arriving on August 15th and leaving the town on the 16th).<sup>2</sup> But he found leisure for a humane and enlightened act. Young Smith was still having his fits, and six more witches were in prison, awaiting the autumn assizes.<sup>3</sup> James had long been skeptical about such matters, and he prided himself on exposing sham demoniacs and other impostors. He called the boy before him and soon detected the fraud. But there was not time to sift the matter to the bottom. Accordingly, the king sent young Smith to Archbishop Abbot at Lambeth for further examination, with the result that he made a full confession of his tricks. Abbot then sent the boy to the king, before whom he made a complete exhibition of his imposture.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, on or about October 15, 1616, by a writ to the High Sheriff of Leicestershire, the five witches still in custody were released without a trial—the sixth had died in the meantime.<sup>5</sup>

As to Justice Winch and Serjeant Crew, we have the best possible evidence that they incurred the royal displeasure for their part in the affair. "Justice Winch . . . and Serjeant Crew," writes

<sup>1</sup> Heyrick's letter of July 18, 1616; Chamberlain to Carleton (Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III, 192-93). Cf. Foss, *Judges of England*, VI, 202.

<sup>2</sup> The king was on his way toward Windsor. He spent the night of August 14th at Nottingham, where he remained for one night only. On the 15th he went to Leicester. After passing the night there, he went to Dingley on the 16th (Nichols, *Progresses*, III, 180, 186; cf. III, 175).

<sup>3</sup> Heyrick's letter of October, 1616 (see n. 5, below). Cf. Osborne, I, 30; Chamberlain to Carleton, October 12, 1616.

<sup>4</sup> Osborne, I, 30-31.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Robert Heyrick to Sir William Heyrick (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, li, 471\*):

I received your letter yesterday, dated the 10th of October, 1616; for which I thank you hartly, for I thought y<sup>e</sup> long since I hard any thinge from you; for anny news I heare but from you I account it but uncertayne. I am desyrous to signefye unto

Secretary Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton on October 12, 1616, "are somewhat discountenanced for hanging certain Witches in their circuit at Leicester; whereas the king, coming that way, found out the juggling and imposture of the boy, that counterfeited to be bewitched."<sup>1</sup>

All these facts throw light on Jonson's famous demoniac scene in *The Devil Is an Ass* (V, viii), in which the justice, Sir Paul Eitherside, witnesses Fitzdottrel's pretended fit of possession and is convinced that he is suffering from witchcraft. It is no longer possible to identify Sir Paul with Coke, even "partially," as Dr. W. S. Johnson does.<sup>2</sup> So far as the satire is personal, it is manifestly aimed at Sir Humphrey Winch, the judge who had presided at the Leicester witch trials in July, when the Smith boy played his tricks successfully in the presence of the bench. We should note, by the way, that Sir Paul Eitherside is not treated contumeliously by Jonson. When Fitzdottrel confesses, and Manly says to the justice, "Are you not asham'd now of your solemn, serious vanity [i.e., foolishness]?" Sir Paul answers, like a dignified and conscientious gentleman, "I will make honorable amends to truth."<sup>3</sup>

The Smith boy, as we have seen, had been sent to Archbishop Abbot about August 15th, 1616. The archbishop's men, so Osborne

you of the Witches, but it must be in my next; for they be but this day, as I am informed, examyned before Mr. Mair and the Justis, and Docktor Lambe, in our Town-hall; and to-morrow I shall know the substaunce of the matter; and then you shall here how the matter goes w<sup>th</sup> them. So, with my love and hartiest salutatyons to yourself and my Lady doone, I leave you to the Most Highest. Leicester, the 15th of October.

Your loving brother,

ROBERT HEYRICKE.

Since wryting of the above, the under sherive, by a warrant directed to the highesherive, hath set the 5 Witches at liberty; the sixt is ded in the gayle.

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, III, 192-93 (cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 398). Mr. Inderwick, whose essay on Witchcraft in his *Side-Lights on the Stuarts* contains much valuable material along with a great variety of curious errors, gives an oddly distorted account of the Leicester affair. He says that it was on October 12 that James discovered the imposture of the "boys," and that "some time afterwards, . . . certain witches were tried for this very witchcraft, and, being convicted, were hanged by order of Justice Winch." "This," adds Mr. Inderwick, "was considered so impertinent an invasion of the king's prerogative, that the Judge was disgraced for having allowed the case to be tried after the king himself had decided it" (2d ed., 1891, p. 150).

<sup>2</sup> "It is certain that Coke is partially responsible for this portraiture. . . . On the other hand, it is improbable that the picture was aimed exclusively at Coke" (W. S. Johnson, *The Devil Is an Ass*, 1905, p. lxxii, *Yale Studies in English*, XXIX). Fleay's identification of Coke with Fitzdottrel (*Biographical Chronicle*, I, 382-83) had already been properly rejected by Johnson as a patent absurdity.

<sup>3</sup> V, viii, 145-47.

informs us, brought him to a full confession, at Lambeth, "in a few weeks." "He was sent back to his Majesty," continues Osborne, "before the end of the Progress; where, upon a small entreaty, he would repeat all his Tricks often times in a Day."<sup>1</sup> These exhibitions must have taken place at Windsor between the 3d and the 17th of September, the progress ending on the latter date.<sup>2</sup> Their first result was the "discountenancing" of Winch and Crew, of which Chamberlain speaks in his letter of October 12th. Their second result was the examination of the surviving witches at Leicester before the Mayor,<sup>3</sup> certain justices, and Dr. Lambe, on October 15th, and their release either on that day or soon after.<sup>4</sup> Dr. John Lambe's presence is significant. He was an eminent ecclesiastical jurist and was vicar of the Bishop of Peterborough, in whose diocese Leicester is included.<sup>5</sup> Doubtless he attended the examination because of instructions from Lambeth. If Winch sat on the bench at this session, he probably used the opportunity (in Justice Eitherside's phrase) to "make honorable amends to truth." The "discountenancing" of Winch and Crew was not serious, no doubt because the king's justifiable self-satisfaction at his own cleverness and its fortunate issue overweighed his anger. On the 7th of October, it was rumored at St. James's that Crew was to succeed Coke as chief-justice.<sup>6</sup> It is safe to infer that the royal disfavor became known at court between October 7 and October 12 (the date on which Chamberlain reported it to Carleton). Between these two dates the king probably expressed his feelings by some snub in word or act.

My suggestion, therefore, that Jonson's demoniac scene alludes

<sup>1</sup> Osborne, I, 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> Windsor was the last gest of the progress. The king was to arrive there on August 20, and to remain "during pleasure" (Nichols, III, 180). In fact, however, he did not reach Windsor until after September 3, for Chamberlain writes to Carleton on that day that he "keeps much about Windsor, though he has not yet been there." On the 7th he was at Windsor, and he remained until the 15th or 16th (Nichols, III, 188-90; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 392; *Venetian, 1615-1617*, pp. 290, 297, 301). On the 17th he was at Theobalds, and the progress was finished (Nichols, III, 190; cf. *Calendar, Domestic*, pp. 392, 394).

<sup>3</sup> The Mayor of Leicester was Thomas Herrick (Erick) (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, I, 425).

<sup>4</sup> Heyrick's October letter.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Lambe took the degree of LL.D. at Cambridge in 1616. Heyrick calls him by his new title. For Lambe's life see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Lord Danvers to Carleton (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 397.)

to the Smith affair makes it necessary to assign the composition of that scene to the latter part of October or thereabout. Let us see if this date accords with other evidence.

We know that the play was first performed in 1616.<sup>1</sup> The time occupied falls within the limits of a single day. Pug, the fiend, assumes the hanged cutpurse's body in the morning, and is carried off to hell by Iniquity, the vice, that same night.<sup>2</sup> In settling the date of production, we are justified in using whatever indications of the season of the year are afforded by the text, for the day on which the events of the drama occur is identified, by Jonson himself, with the actual day on which it was first acted. This appears from the following passage, in which Wittipol is speaking of Fitzdottrel:

Yes, that's a hir'd suit he now has on,  
To see *The Devil Is an Ass* to-day in.<sup>3</sup>

Two bits of internal evidence are available. (1) In V, ii, 39, Pug remarks, "If we can get a wigeon, 'tis in season." This points to the time of year when wigeons are procurable, but not yet a glut in the market. These birds make their appearance in England about the middle or end of September or early in October.<sup>4</sup> (2) In III, vi, 2-4, Pitfall says:

Canst thou get ne'er a bird?  
No thrushes hungry? Stay till cold weather come,  
I'll help thee to an ousel or a fieldfare.

Fieldfares arrive in England early in October. They are very shy birds,<sup>5</sup> however, and not until there is snow, or a severe frost, can one readily get within gunshot of them. Then they seek the uplands, to feed upon the hedges, and become not only in better

<sup>1</sup> The year is mentioned in so many words in I, i, 80-81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I, i, with V, vi-vii. See especially I, i, 133-50; V, vi, 5-10, 48-49; V, vii, 5.

<sup>3</sup> I, iv, 20-21. Cf. also the following passages:

"Fitzdottrel. . . . Art thou sure  
The play is play'd to-day? *Ingrue.* O, here's the bill, sir.  
I had forgot to gi't you. *Fitz.* Ha! the *Devill*!" (I, iv, 42-44)  
"To-day I go to the Blackfriars playhouse." (I, vi, 31)

<sup>4</sup> F. O. Morris, *History of British Birds*, VII, 29-30; Yarrell, *History of British Birds*, 2d ed., 1845, III, 287; Macgillivray, *History of British Birds*, 1852, V, 87-88.

<sup>5</sup> It is the fieldfare's shyness that gives point to the proverbial "farwel feldefare" (*Troilus*, III, 861), i.e., "the bird has flown." Cf. Middleton, *Anything for a Quiet Life*, I, ii, 264 ff. (Bullen, V, 255): "When I studied there [at Cambridge], I had so fantastical a brain that, like a felfare frighted in winter by a birding-piece, I could settle nowhere; here and there, a little of several art, and away."

condition as to flesh and flavor, but also easier to approach.<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Cox, in *The Gentleman's Recreation*, instructs his reader thus: "About Michaelmas [September 29], or when the cold weather begins to come in, take your Gun and kill some *Feldfares*."<sup>2</sup>

Pitfall's remark,<sup>3</sup> then, would not be appropriate later than about the first of November, and would certainly fit the middle or latter part of October in any ordinary season. That cold weather has not yet come is shown also by the fact that, when Ambler complains that he had to walk barefoot from the neighborhood of the Lord Mayor's Banqueting House to St. Giles's, he says nothing about suffering from inclement weather.<sup>4</sup>

Both pieces of internal evidence are consistent, it appears, with our fixing the date of the first performance as about the middle or end of October.

Further, when Pug has been arrested and taken to Newgate, Iniquity visits his cell, with a message from the Great Devil:

H' hath sent thee *grant-paroll* by me to stay longer  
A month here on earth.

"How?" cries Pug, "longer here a month?" And the dialogue proceeds:

*Iniquity.* Yes, boy, till the session,  
That so thou mayest have a triumphal egression.  
*Pug.* In a cart, to be hang'd!<sup>5</sup>

That is, in a month there is to be a session of jail delivery, at which Pug will be tried for theft. There was usually such a session for Middlesex early in September, early in October, and early in December, but none in November. If, then, the date of performance (which, we remember, corresponds with that of the action) is the

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Daniel, *Rural Sports*, 1807, III, 149, note; Morris, III, 171-72; Bewick's *History of British Birds*, 1804, I, 103; Col. G. Montagu, *Ornithological Dictionary*, ed. Rennie, 1831, pp. 180-81. Chaucer speaks of "the frosty feldefare" (*Parliament of Fowls*, vs. 364); cf. Skeat on *Troilus*, III, 861 (*Oxford Chaucer*, II, 479).

<sup>2</sup> 3d ed., 1686, Part II, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Pitfall is punning on *bird* in the sense of "loose woman" (cf. *Mod. Philol.*, VII, 475-77), but the season is indicated all the same. Charles Carter, in his *Compleat City and Country Cook*, 1732, plates 44, 45, reckons wigeons among the birds in season in September, October, and November; fieldfares, among those in season in December, January, and February.

<sup>4</sup> V, i, 26-47.

<sup>5</sup> V, vi, 19-23.



latter part of October, the next session will fall early in December—that is, in round numbers, about a month hence.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it appears that all the internal evidence either points directly to the latter part of October (or thereabout) as the date of presentation, or agrees with that date. Indeed, no other date will satisfy all the conditions. When Jonson began to write the play we cannot tell, but it seems quite clear that he finished it shortly before it was produced. There is nothing in the internal evidence that conflicts in any way with the view which I have expressed, namely, that the demoniac scene in the fifth act was written with an eye to the Leicester case, to the king's detection of the imposture, and to the royal displeasure manifested at the precipitancy and credulity of Justice Winch.

The demoniac scene, indeed, is by no means necessary to the plot, which might just as well be wound up without it. Its connection with the structure of the drama is very loose. Probably Jonson inserted it at the last minute, after the "discountenancing" of Winch and Crew (mentioned in Chamberlain's letter of October 12) had become the talk of the court and the town. We may conjecture that he was on the point of finishing his play when the matter came to his attention, and that he found it too apposite to his general satirical purpose to be disregarded.

The results of our investigations are not trivial, for they have a direct bearing upon the relations between Jonson and James I, as well as upon the status of both poet and king in the history of witchcraft. James is commonly regarded as a frantic and bigoted witch-prosecutor during his English reign, and Jonson has been commended for his enlightenment and independence in taking the other side.<sup>2</sup> In fact, however, James distinguished himself, almost from the very beginning of his reign, as a detector of fraudulent demoniacs, and there is plenty of evidence that he did not encourage

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact there were ten Old Bailey sessions of jail delivery in 1616—on January 12, February 20, March 15, April 12, May 16, June 26, August 1, September 6, October 4, and December 4 (*Middlesex Court Records*, ed. by J. C. Jeaffreson, II, 218-19).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Aronstein, *Ben Jonson*, 1906, p. 164 (Schick and v. Waldberg, *Literaturhistorische Forschungen*, XXXIV): "Männer wie Bacon und Raleigh zweifelten nicht an der Existenz von Hexen, und Jakob I. hatte bekanntlich selbst ein Werk über Dämonologie geschrieben. Um so höher ist es dem Dichter anzurechnen, dass er es gewagt hat, in seinem Lustspiele diesen Aberglauben kühn zu verspotten."

the prosecution of witches. On the contrary, though he believed in witchcraft in general, it is quite certain that he was disposed to be skeptical with regard to particular examples, and his English reign is by no means a dark and bloody period in the annals of this terrible delusion.<sup>1</sup> In undertaking to write a comedy satirizing witchcraft, Jonson was not braving the king's wrath: he was acting in perfect accord with what he knew to be the king's sentiments, and he must have felt sure of his approval. James and he were not on different sides in this question; they were on the same side.<sup>2</sup> When, therefore, as Jonson was completing his play, a remarkable instance of the king's acumen occurred, resulting in the rescue of five suspected witches, the poet welcomed the opportunity of paying a well-deserved compliment to his royal patron. He inserted a scene of sham demoniacal possession, and pointed the compliment by satirizing the justice whose credulity the king had reproved.

This was not the first time that Jonson had gratified the king by such a compliment. There is a counterfeit demoniac in *Volpone*, the advocate Voltore, who has spasms and pretends to vomit pins.<sup>3</sup> *Volpone* was acted early in 1606. Shortly before, King James had exposed the imposture "of a woman pretended to be bewitched, that cast up at her mouth pynnes, and pynnes were taken by divers in her fitts out of her brest."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence in full, see Kittredge, *English Witchcraft and James I.* Gifford, in 1827, printed a brief but powerful defence of James in his edition of *Ford*, I, cxxi-cxxv, clxxix-clxxx (Dyce's edition, 1869, III, 273-76; Bullen's edition, 1895, III, 273-76). He called attention to Osborne and to Chamberlain's letter of October 12, 1616, but did not perceive the connection of the Leicester case with *The Devil Is an Ass*.

<sup>2</sup> We may note, by the way, that alchemy (satirized by Jonson in *The Alchemist*, 1610) was likewise a subject on which King James was skeptical. In 1620 he made some acute criticisms on the alchemists' fallacious reasoning, to say nothing of a highly characteristic jest (*King James His Apophthegmes*, 1643, pp. 7-8).

<sup>3</sup> V, xii, 8 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, 1593-1616*, ed. by H. S. Scott, p. 70 (*Camden Miscellany*, X). Sir Roger mentions the case along with that of Richard Haydock, the Sleeping Preacher, of New College, Oxford who (as we know) was exposed by King James in April, 1605. Walter Yonge also mentions Haydock's exposure, and couples with it the following item, which must refer to the demoniac woman of whom Wilbraham speaks: "This year there was a gentlewoman and near kinswoman to Doctor Holland's wife, Rector of Exon College in Oxford, strangely possessed and bewitched, so that in her fits she cast out of her nose and mouth pins in great abundance, and did divers other things very strange to be reported" (*Diary of Walter Yonge*, ed. by George Roberts, Camden Society, 1848, p. 12). By "this year" Yonge seems to mean 1606, for the entry immediately preceding is dated "An. D. 1605-1606." But, since he refers Haydock's case to "this year also," we are safe in dating the bewitching of Dr. Holland's wife's

Many students have been puzzled to understand why Jonson, after receiving a royal grant of a hundred marks a year for life in February, 1616,<sup>1</sup> should have seized the earliest opportunity to insult the king by ridiculing witchcraft in *The Devil Is an Ass*. Nor has their perplexity been diminished by observing that the insult caused no interruption in the king's favor, inasmuch as Jonson was employed to write a Christmas masque at the end of the same year. It now appears that *The Devil Is an Ass* was not an insult, but a compliment, so that all grounds for perplexity are happily removed.

Ben Jonson, as is well known, gave Drummond a brief account of *The Devil Is an Ass* in 1619. The passage is as follows:

A play of his, upon which he was accused, The Divell is ane Ass. According to *Comedia Vetus* in England, the Divell was brought in either with one Vice or other; the play done, the Divel carried away the Vice. He brings in the Divel so overcome with the wickedness of this age that thought himself ane Ass. Παρεργος is discoursed of the Duke of Drounland. The King desired him to conceal it.<sup>2</sup>

These jottings of Jonson's talk are rather tantalizing. "Whether the subject which gave offense" was monopolies or witchcraft, writes Dr. W. S. Johnson, "it is impossible to determine."<sup>3</sup> It is clear, however, that some person or persons lodged a complaint against *The Devil Is an Ass*, and that the king promised Jonson immunity if he would not print the play. As we know, Jonson did not publish the text until 1631, six years after James's death.

Perhaps the complainants were Winch and Crew; perhaps the relatives of the young demoniac. In either case the king may well have thought it best to satisfy the aggrieved parties, and at the same time let the poet off, by "desiring" Jonson not to print the drama. The good-natured monarch may have regarded the judges as punished

kinswoman 1605, or early in the following year. *Volpone* is made out by Mr. L. H. Holt to have been presented between March 9 and March 25, 1606 (*Modern Language Notes*, XX, 164-65). Dr. Thomas Holland died March 17, 1611-12. He was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1589 and Rector of Exeter College in 1592, and held both offices till his death (Wood, *Athenae Ozonienses*, ed. Bliss, II, 111-12; Foster, *Alumni Ozonienses*, II, 731).

<sup>1</sup> Shakspeare Variorum of 1821, I, 417, note.

<sup>2</sup> Jonson's *Conversations with Drummond*, ed. Laing, p. 28 (Shakespeare Society, 1842). I have regulated the punctuation, which, as given in the manuscript, obscures the sense. I have also made the obvious correction of Παρεργος for Παρεργον.

<sup>3</sup> *The Devil Is an Ass*, 1905, p. lxii.

enough without the further publicity of type. And he would certainly have considered the feelings of the Smith family, which had abundant wealth and influence and was highly connected. The boy's grandfather, we should remember, had married as his second wife a sister of William Cecil, the great Lord Burghley,<sup>1</sup> and Burghley had more than once used his influence to protect Henry Smith, the eminent preacher,<sup>2</sup> who was the boy's uncle. Burghley's grandson was now Earl of Salisbury. Very likely, however, the accusation had nothing to do with witchcraft, but concerned rather the satire on monopolies, in particular the draining of the fens, a project of great public importance, much canvassed in the reign of James I.

At all events, the language of Drummond's memorandum shows clearly that James protected Jonson—not that he censured or punished him. And this is what we should expect, since the play, as we have seen, was of a kind to give the king much satisfaction.

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May 11, 1911

<sup>1</sup> She was Margery, "relict of Roger Cave" (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, i, 185). She married Cave on November 24, 1561 (Fox-Davies, *Genealogy of the Cecils*, in *Historical Monograph*, William Cecil Lord Burghley, 1904, p. 111). Henry Smith speaks of Brian Cave, High Sheriff of Leicestershire, as his uncle (*Three Sermons*, ed. 1624, p. 56: misprinted "Cane"). Brian Cave, of Ingarsby, was High Sheriff of the Counties of Leicester and Warwick in 5-6 Philip and Mary (1558), and of Leicestershire in 11 and 24 Elizabeth (1568-69, 1581-82) (Nichols, I, 460, 461). He died July 30, 1590 (III, i, 280). Roger Cave, of Stanton-on-Avon, who married Margaret (or Margery) Cecil, and died in 1586, was his brother, as were also Sir Thomas Cave of Stanford-on-Avon, and Sir Ambrose Cave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and one of Elizabeth's privy councillors (II, ii, 852; III, i, 97, 290, 292; III, ii, 954; IV, i, 351-52, 356). A sister, Dorothea, married John Smith, Henry Smith's grandfather, so that Brian Cave was the preacher's great-uncle (*Visitation of the County of Leicester in 1619*, pp. 66, 128, Harleian Society, II).

<sup>2</sup> Fuller's *Life of Smith* (Smith's *Sermons*, ed. 1866, I, viii); cf. C. H. and T. Cooper, *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, VII, 223. Smith dedicated his collected *Sermons* to Burghley with an expression of gratitude ("haec pignora in grati animi testimonium"; ed. of 1609).



## A SERMON ON SOURCE-HUNTING

Some years ago a student in our English Seminary, having occasion to read Robert Greene's *Menaphon*, had her attention caught by the opening lines of one of its lyrics:

When tender ewes brought home with evening sunne  
Wend to their foldes,  
And to their holdes  
The shepheards trudge when light of day is done. . . . .

And as she read them the conviction flashed upon her that this was just the beginning of Gray's "Elegy," with its curfew, and its lowing herd winding slowly o'er the lea, and its plowman plodding his weary way homeward, and its ultimate darkness. In the course of her English studies she had heard much of parallels and sources: here finally was one all her own. That celebrated first stanza of Gray must have been inspired by the verses of Greene. It was not without difficulty that her instructor at last brought her to see that the coming home of herds and flocks and tired rustics at evening was a phenomenon of country life which any two or three or a hundred poets would be capable of observing, each for himself, quite independently of the others, and that in any such case of similarity, before one could infer literary indebtedness one must be sure that the likeness did not lie in the mere fact of the two poets having chosen the same subject-matter: there must be special resemblances of imaginative handling or style or actual wording which made any other hypothesis improbable.

Now, just this consideration which the seminary student overlooked is being ignored, right and left, today, not only by the rank and file of zealous source-hunters, whom nobody much heeds, but also by men of real ability, authors of volumes and learned articles, short and long, that are quoted with general and deserved respect. Only too often these men, in their study of "influences," pad their lists of parallel passages and points of resemblance between authors with examples which, on examination, are found to prove nothing at all, except that the authors concerned have happened to find in this or

that common topic the same obvious facts or details. The phenomenon is sufficiently curious. One can hardly believe that these scholars do not know what they are about; they can surely be no more than heedless; but it is strange that they do not see what harm they thereby work to their own soundest arguments; do not perceive that after a man has rejected nine out of a dozen of their parallels as worthless he is not in a mood to accept the remaining three as conclusive. A few examples will suffice, perhaps, to preach the needed sermon.

As good a one as any may be found in Mr. Sidney Lee's recent volume, *The French Renaissance in England*, in the chapters which he devotes to the Huguenot poet, Du Bartas. Here the one case of specific imitation that he sets forward is the horse in *Venus and Adonis*, which he believes to be modeled in part upon the horse in the *Divine Weeks* subdued by Cain. His evidence is best recorded exactly as he gives it, italics and all.<sup>1</sup>

## SYLVESTER'S TRANSLATION

With round, high, hollow, smooth,  
brown, jetty hoof,  
With pasterns short, upright, but yet  
in mean;  
Dry sinewy shanks; strong, fleshless  
knees, and lean;  
With hartlike legs, broad breast, and  
large behind,  
With body large, smooth flanks, and  
double chined:  
A crested neck bowed like a half-bent  
bow,  
Whereon a long, thin, curled mane doth  
flow;  
A firmful tail, touching the lowly  
ground,  
With dock between two fair fat but-  
tocks drowned;  
A pricked ear, that rests as little space,  
As his light foot, a lean, bare bony face,  
Thin jowl, and head but of a middling  
size,

## VENUS AND ADONIS

His ears up-prick'd; his braided hang-  
ing mane  
Upon his compass'd crest now stands  
on end;  
His nostrils drink the air, and forth  
again,  
As from a furnace, vapours doth he  
send: . . . .  
Round hoof'd, short-jointed, fetlocks  
shag and long,  
Broad breast, full eye, small head, and  
nostril wide,  
High crest, short ears, straight legs and  
passing strong,  
Thin mane, thick tail, broad buttock,  
tender hide; . . . .

Sometimes he scuds far off . . . .

To bid the wind a base he now prepares,

<sup>1</sup> P. 337, note. The passage in Du Bartas is in the Fourth Part of the First Day of the Second Week. Since this part of Sylvester's translation was published after the appearance of *Venus and Adonis*, Mr. Lee is careful to remark that "Shakespeare probably consulted the French text."



[STYLISTER'S TRANSLATION]

[VENUS AND ADONIS]

Full, lively flaming, quickly rolling  
eyes,

And *whē'r he run or fly* they know not  
whether.

Great foaming mouth, *hot-fuming*  
*nostril wide,*

Of chestnut hair, his forehead starri-  
fied . . . .

As this light horse *scuds*, . . . .

*Flying the earth*, the flying air he  
catches,

*Borne whirlwindlike.*

This catalogue of italicized points is obviously meant to be, and perhaps is, impressive—though some readers might reflect that a few of the points are not unknown, even today, to men who claim no first-hand acquaintance with either the *Divine Weeks* or *Venus and Adonis*. Furthermore, Mr. Lee seems to be unaware that we have a very similar description of a horse in Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, canto xv, stanzas 105-7. Though three proverbially make a crowd, it had better, perhaps, be added to the other two. It will need no italics.

Egli avea tutte le fattezze pronte  
Di buon caval . . . .  
Piccola testa, e in bocca molto fesso;  
Un occhio vivo, una rosetta in fronte;  
Larghe le nari; e'l labbro arriccias spesso;  
Corto l'orecchio, e lungo e forte il collo;  
Leggier sì, ch'alla man non dava un crollo.

Ma una cosa nol faceva brutto,  
Ch'egli era largo tre palmi nel petto,  
Corto di schiena, e ben quartato tutto,  
Grosse le gambe, e d'ogni cosa netto,  
Corte le giunte, e'l piè largo, alto, asciutto,  
E molto lieto e grato nell' aspetto;  
Serra la coda, e anitrisce e raspa,  
Sempre le zampe palleggiava e innaspa.<sup>1</sup>

It is a pity that Mr. Lee did not know this other description, for he might then have given us a particularly interesting study in the field that he has cultivated with so much profit—that of the intermingling

<sup>1</sup> The preliminary stanza, which I omit, gives only one physical detail: "Tra falago e donnino era il mantello."

influences of Italy and France in Elizabethan poetry. Did Du Bartas here imitate Pulci? Was it Pulci or Du Bartas that Shakespeare imitated, or was it both? More probably, however, Mr. Lee would have perceived, what must be clear to one not wholly intent on parallels, that all three descriptions are but poetic records of the various "good points" then recognized by connoisseurs in horse-flesh. These would of course vary, according to locality and time, even as the three descriptions vary, but it would be odd if the ideal English steed of the end of the sixteenth century were another beast than the ideal French steed of the same era, or even than the ideal Italian steed of a hundred years earlier; and that Shakespeare, who knew most of what was practically worth knowing in his day, from the prejudices of the rural gentry to the ways of London inn-keepers, should need a foreign poet to teach him the points of a good horse is surely improbable.

Another student in the same field, Professor A. H. Upham, has endeavored to establish a more important parallel between Du Bartas and Spenser.<sup>1</sup> In the Sixth Day of the First Week, in his account of the creation of Adam, the French poet gives us a kind of inventory-description of the human body, accompanied by a running commentary. The description is in good part figurative, and the main figure consists in likening the body to a castle. The fancy is not worked out in all its parts systematically: it is used at the beginning and returned to casually when this feature or that is adaptable to it. Now, in the *Faery Queen*, in the ninth canto of the second book, Spenser, too, gives a detailed account of the human body, and he, too (though with an allegorical strictness far beyond the aims of Du Bartas), represents it under the guise of a castle, the abode of Lady Alma, the soul. Professor Upham believes that Spenser's allegorical description is imitated from that of Du Bartas.<sup>2</sup>

Now, Du Bartas, of course, was no more the originator of this similitude than Spenser: it had been used before him in the conclusion of the *Roman de la Rose*. Nor would Spenser need to seek it either there or in the *Divine Weeks*, for it lay ready to his hand in

<sup>1</sup> *French Influence in English Literature from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration*, 168-70, 506-18.

<sup>2</sup> It may be worth notice that Mr. Sidney Lee apparently accepts this opinion: *vide French Renaissance*, 349.

*Piers Plowman*,<sup>1</sup> in the episode of the Castle Caro, that belongs to the Lady Anima. This episode, indeed, is worth notice, for although there is no attempt in it to work out the features of the body in terms of architecture, although, in fact, the body is not described in any terms at all (the author being interested exclusively in the soul), still, the mere recollection of this castle of the Lady Anima (there is no such lady in Du Bartas) might easily have been what set Spenser's imagination at work upon the more elaborate castle of the Lady Alma. To prove the influence of Du Bartas, then, one must establish between his account of the body and Spenser's special points of resemblance that cannot be accounted for by the natural demands of the subject. This, it seems to me, Professor Upham, despite his array of parallels, fails rather singularly to do. He calls attention to the teeth. These Du Bartas likens to a mill, set to grind food for the stomach; Spenser to a squad of warders, set to guard the main gate of the castle, the mouth. Wherein the resemblance lies, except that both Du Bartas and Spenser, having to describe the body, think the teeth worth notice, does not easily appear. He calls attention to the eyes, which Du Bartas likens to sentinels and Spenser to beacons. The only resemblance is that in both cases they are set on the top of the central tower—and if a poet is describing the body as a castle, he cannot very well avoid calling the head the central tower that rises above the rest of the building. He calls attention to the fact that Du Bartas calls the stomach *hot* and that Spenser gives two stanzas to the heat of the castle kitchen—ignoring the allied fact that both are but expressing the physiological lore of their day. In brief, Professor Upham has altogether failed to take account of natural processes. Given two poets, educated in the same schools of knowledge, working on the same material subject, and using in good part the same symbolism, what is to be expected but that their output should in many details agree? I do not care to assert that Spenser, when he wrote this canto, did not have Du Bartas in mind at all. My contention is only that Professor Upham has travestied argument by parading a lot of similarities which, far from supporting his theory, serve only to distract and confuse.

It is of course not always easy to distinguish between resemblances

<sup>1</sup> A text, passus x; B text, passus ix; C text, passus xi.

that inhere in the common subject-matter of two poems and resemblances that may really be due to direct imitation. How faint the dividing line may be is well illustrated by another parallel in Professor Upham's book.<sup>1</sup> Among the points of similarity between the *Noah's Flood* of Drayton and various passages in Sylvester's version of the *Divine Weeks* is set down a detail of the panic that seizes the sufferers. According to Sylvester, some flee to the mountains;

Some to a Towr, some to a Cedar-tree,  
Whence round about a World of deaths they see:  
But wheresoever their pale fears aspire  
For hope of safety, th' Ocean surgeth higher;  
And still, still mounting as they still do mount,  
When they cease mounting, doth them soon surmount.

And according to Drayton

. . . . some clamber up to Towers,  
But these and them the deluge soon devours,  
Some to the top of Pynes and Cedars get,  
Thinking themselves they safely there should set:  
But the rude Flood that over all doth sway,  
Quickly comes up and carrieth them away.

Now there can be little doubt that Drayton's poem was mainly inspired by the *Divine Weeks*; or at least that without the precedent of the *Divine Weeks* it would not have been written; and in this particular passage it may well be that Drayton had his predecessor distinctly in mind. Yet, on the other hand, is not the detail one of those which any poet who undertook to describe the Deluge would inevitably find in his path? The waters are rising: what will men do? Why, clamber up to high places—mountains, towers, lofty trees. And since the scene is biblical, what lofty trees will they find? Manifestly, cedars. And of course the waters will overtake them. When Michael Angelo came to depict the Deluge in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, he set forth just this same frenzy of impossible escape, and little more. He had no room in his panel for towers, and his one dead tree with the man climbing it could not be much loftier than a high shrub, but the scene is virtually the same. One does not imagine that Du Bartas took his hint from Michael

<sup>1</sup> P. 522.

Angelo; nor do the details of execution make quite certain that Drayton took his from Du Bartas.

For one doubtful parallel like this, however, dozens may be found in the learned periodicals of the day concerning which there can unfortunately be no doubt at all. Recently,<sup>1</sup> Dean T. W. Nadal has argued that when Spenser wrote his mock-heroic poem *Muiopotmos* he had in mind Chaucer's mock-heroic tale of *Sir Thopas*, and among the points of resemblance between the two works he sets down the arming of the heroes. It may be well to quote the passages.<sup>2</sup>

SIR THOPAS, ll. 146 ff.

He dide next his whyte lere  
Of clooth of lake fyn and clere  
A breech and eek a sherte;  
And next his sherte an aketoun,  
And over that an habergeoun  
For percing of his herte;

And over that a fyn hauberk,  
Was al y-wroght of Jewes werk,  
Ful strong it was of plate;  
And over that his cote-armour  
As whyt as is a lily-flour,  
In which he wol debate.

His sheeld was al of gold so reed,  
And ther-in was a bores heed,  
A charbocke bisyde. . . .

His jambeux were of quirboilly,  
His swardes shethe of yvory,  
His helm of laton bright;  
His sadel was of rewel-boon,  
His brydel as the sonne shoon,  
Or as the mone light.

MUIOPOTMOS, ll. 57 ff.

His breastplate first, that was of substance pure,  
Before his noble heart he firmly bound,  
That mought his life from yron death assure,  
And ward his gentle corpes from cruell wound:  
For it by arte was framed to endure  
The bit of balefull steele and bitter stownd,  
No lesse than that which Vulcane made to sheild  
Achilles life from fate of Troyan field.

And then about his shoulders broad he threw  
An hairie hide of some wilde beast, whom hee  
In salvage forrest by adventure slew,  
And reft the spoyle his ornament to bee:  
Which, spredding all his backe with dreadfull vew,  
Made all that him so horrible did see  
Thinke him Alcides with the lyons skin,  
When the Næmean conquest he did win.

Upon his head his glistering burganet,  
The which was wrought by wonderous device,  
And curiously engraven, he did set:  
The mettall was of rare and passing price;

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXV (December, 1910), 640-56.

<sup>2</sup> The reader may be reminded that Spenser's hero, Clarion, is a butterfly.

## [SIR THOPAS]

His spere was of fyn ciprees,  
 That bodeth werre, and no-thing pees,  
 The heed ful sharpe y-grounde;  
 His stede was al dappel-gray,  
 It gooth an ambel in the way  
 Ful softly and rounde  
 In londe.

## [ΜΥΙΟΠΟΤΜΟΣ]

Not Bilbo steele, nor brasse from  
 Corinth fet,  
 Nor costly oricalche from strange  
 Phœnice;  
 But such as could both Phœbus  
 arrowes ward,  
 And th' hayling darts of heaven beat-  
 ing hard.

Therein two deadly weapons fixt he  
 bore,  
 Strongly outlaunched towards either  
 side,  
 Like two sharpe speares, his enemies to  
 gore.

Lastly his shinie wings, as silver bright,  
 Painted with thousand colours, passing  
 farre  
 All painters skill, he did about him  
 dight.

Had Dean Nadal contented himself, in this case, with noting the similarity of incident, the fact that both heroes, about to set forth on adventure, arm themselves piece by piece in the manner approved by epic and romance poets as far back as Homer,<sup>1</sup> his point, though it might not carry much conviction of Spenser's indebtedness, would be unassailable. But he is not content with so little; he must find resemblances of detail, which may be marked in italics. Sir Thopas has a "whyte lere"; Clarion a "gentle corpes." Sir Thopas puts on "an habergeoun, for percing of his herte"; Clarion binds "his breast-plate . . . before his noble heart." Sir Thopas' "fyn hauberk was al y-wroght of Jewes werk," and on his shield was "a bores heed, a charboele bisyde"; Clarion's "burganet . . . was wrought by wonderous device, and curiously engraven." In fact, says Dean Nadal, "there is an interesting resemblance between the armors of the two knights." He does not note that the resemblance, such as it is, could hardly have been avoided, but proceeds at once to conclude that "Spenser had in mind either Chaucer's description or else a similar description which Chaucer himself was parodying." If such

<sup>1</sup> The arming of Clarion might be compared with the arming of Agamemnon at the outset of *Iliad* xi.

comparisons are to hold, then surely Pope's account of the toilet of Belinda, from the moment when

*robed in white*<sup>1</sup> the nymph intent adores,  
With head uncover'd, the cosmetic powers,

to that when

awful Beauty *puts on all its arms*,

must be another of the possible reminiscences of *Sir Thopas*.

Hunting after parallels has nowhere been pushed more vigorously than in the field of the Petrarchistic love-sonnet. Here it has proceeded, of late years, mainly under the stimulus of Mr. Sidney Lee, whose primary interest in the work has been, on the whole, less that of a student of letters than that of a biographer. It was his concern with the biographical problem of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, that is, which first led him to investigate the sonnet literature of the age, and this biographical preoccupation has more or less dominated his judgment ever since. He seems to be never quite so well satisfied as when he has apparently demonstrated that such and such an Elizabethan sonnet cannot possibly be the record of personal experience, because it is all imitation. How far he is willing to carry his skepticism may be illustrated by his treatment of the 68th sonnet of Spenser's *Amoretti*. This, it will be remembered, comes shortly after the poet's acceptance by the lady whom he has been wooing for over a year. The time is Easter Day.

Most glorious Lord of lyfe, that on this day  
Didst make thy triumph over death and sin,  
And having harrowd hell, didst bring away  
Captivity thence captive, us to win:  
This joyous day, deare Lord, with joy begin,  
And grant that we, for whom thou diddest dye,  
Being with thy deare blood clene washt from sin,  
May live for ever in felicity:  
And that thy love we weighing worthily,  
May likewise love thee for the same againe;  
And for thy sake, that all lyke deare didst buy,  
With love may one another entertayne.  
So let us love, deare love, lyke as we ought:  
Love is the lesson which the Lord us taught.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "whyte lere"—transferred epithet?



This sonnet, says Mr. Lee,<sup>1</sup> "was clearly suggested by Desportes' ejaculation at the same season [i.e., Eastertide] which unexpectedly fills a niche in the poet's *Amours de Diane*."

Here is the ejaculation of Desportes (Bk. II, sonnet 46):

Je m'estoy dans le temple un dimanche rendu,  
Que de la mort du Christ on faisoit souvenance,  
Et, touché jusqu' au cœur de vive repentance,  
Je soupiroy le tans que j'ai mal despendu.  
"O Seigneur! qui des cieux en terre es descendu,  
Pour guarir les pecheurs et laver leur offance,  
Que ton sang, ruisselant en si grande abondance,  
N'ait point esté pour moi vainement respandu!  
Seul Sauveur des humains, sauve ta creature!"  
J'achevoy de prier, quand je vey d'avanture  
Celle dont les beaux yeux sans pitié m'ont deffait.  
"Ah! Dieu!" ce dy-je alors, la voyant en priere,  
Triste et l'œil abaissé, "ceste belle meurtriere  
Se repent-elle point du mal qu'elle m'a fait?"

What have these two sonnets in common? Nothing whatever, except that both have to do with Easter; in thought, temper, and all that constitutes style they are radically different. What then is Mr. Lee's theory of the relation between the two? Apparently this, that Spenser, as a poet of the Petrarchistic school, could not have written this sonnet on Easter Day without the inspiration of Desportes; or, to speak more accurately, that since Desportes wrote a sonnet on a reminiscence of Easter Day, Spenser's sonnet composed on that day and inspired by thoughts of the season must be an imitation of it, or must have been suggested by it. The vista which this theory opens is fairly appalling. To know that these Petrarchists borrowed ideas, images, sentiments, tricks of style from each other, imitated or translated whole sonnets when they felt inclined, is one thing; but to think that even the best of them, men of original power in other fields of poetry, when for instance they seemed to fall sick, like other men, and wrote a sonnet or two during what appeared to be convalescence, were presumably borrowing both sickness and sonnets, if not convalescence, from some earlier poet—to think that is to have

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *Elizabethan Sonnets* (Constable, 1904), xcix. Mr. Lee does not there indicate which sonnet of Desportes he means, though a reader might guess. In his recent *French Renaissance*, 263, note, he supplies the number.

one's faith in poor human nature (and in the plain probabilities of human conduct) sorely shaken. Mr. Lee, however, seems to have overlooked one main trait of Petrarch's influence. The melancholy Tuscan not only founded a style of love-poetry and established a code of situations, moods, ideas, and images for subsequent poets, but he taught lovers how to use the trivial daily incidents of life as matter for sonnets. To send a present of small game to a friend, to take a walk in the country and fall into a brook, to see your mistress coming from a visit to a sick relative, to find, one day, that she has been requested by her family to stay at home, somewhat against her will<sup>1</sup>—experiences like these, he taught, were matter out of which excellent sonnets might be built. His followers, especially in France and England, learned this lesson and put it in practice. That two of them happen to write of similar experiences surely does not prove that one necessarily took his cue from the other.

This point may further be exemplified from the work of Professor L. E. Kastner. As all students of the subject know, he has, like Mr. Lee, made most valuable contributions to our knowledge of Petrarchism in Great Britain, but none the less, apparently under the influence of Mr. Lee's theory, he has sometimes darkened counsel. For example, in No. 48 of the *Amoretti*, Spenser apostrophizes a certain copy of verses which he has sent to his mistress and which she has burned unread. This sonnet, Professor Kastner thinks,<sup>2</sup> was "certainly suggested by" one of Desportes (*Diane*, II, 75) in which the poet, addressing his verses, tells them to beware when they come into his mistress' hands, lest the flame of her eyes consume them. It may be well to print the two side by side.

Innocent paper, whom too cruell hand  
Did make the matter to avenge her  
yre,  
And ere she could thy cause wel under-  
stand,  
Did sacrificze unto the greedy fyre:  
Well worthy thou to have found better  
hyre

O vers que j'ai chantez en l'ardeur qui  
m'enflame,  
Je deviens à bon droit de vostre aise  
envieux!  
Vous viendrez en la main et retiendrez  
les yeux  
Qui retiennent ma vie en l'amoureuse  
flame.

<sup>1</sup> In the Leopardi edition, which has at least this merit for reference-use that it is the one most commonly met with in small public and private libraries, these sonnets are Nos. 7, 43, 28, 167 of the first part, in *Vita di Madonna Laura*.

<sup>2</sup> "Spenser's 'Amoretti' and Desportes," *Modern Language Review*, IV (1908), 65 ff.

Then so bad end, for hereticks or-  
dayned:

Yet heresy nor treason didst conspire,  
But plead thy maisters cause unjustly  
payned:

Whom she, all carelesse of his grieve,  
constrayned

To utter forth the anguish of his hart:  
And would not heare, when he to her  
complayned

The piteous passion of his dying smart.  
Yet live for ever, though against her  
will,

And speake her good, though she  
requite it ill.

Gardez-vous seulement des regards de  
ma dame,

Ardans flambeaux d'amour, benins et  
gracieux,

Car s'elle peut brûler les mortels et les  
dieux,

Elle vous brûlera comme elle a fait mon  
ame.

Je sçay qu'il eust fallu, pour monstrier  
son pouvoir,

Un esprit plus divin, plus d'art, plus de  
sçavoir;

Mais, estant plein d'amour, je fuy tout  
artifice.

J'écry ce que je sens, mon mal me fait  
chanter,

Et le plus beau laurier que j'en veux  
meriter,

C'est d'allegier ma peine et la rendre  
propice.

Just what does Professor Kastner wish us to infer in this case? Apparently, that Spenser invented the whole story, that the verses he apostrophizes, if they ever existed, were not really burned, but that, having read the sonnet of Desportes, he was inspired to pretend that they had been. But how, then, came the sonnet of Desportes to inspire that particular fiction? It speaks of no real burning, already accomplished; it only pays a kind of prophetic compliment to the fire of his lady's eyes, a compliment which, if Spenser did actually try to imitate it, he spoiled, for the fire that is represented as consuming his verses is just plain matter-of-fact household fire. Perhaps Professor Kastner has in mind that both poets apostrophize their verses; but surely, a convention so immemorial as that cannot be stretched to imply imitation. One is left to wonder what Professor Kastner really does mean.

How far afield this eagerness of source-hunting may lead a man is best shown, perhaps, in one final example, from *The French Renaissance in England*.<sup>1</sup> There, in the section devoted to Rabelais, Mr. Lee brings up the speech of Sir Andrew to the Clown, in *Twelfth Night* (II, iii, 22 ff.): "In sooth, thou wast in very gracious fooling last night, when thou spok'st of Pigrogromitus, of the Vapians pass-

<sup>1</sup> P. 162.

ing the equinoctial of Queubus. 'Twas very good, i' faith." The words attributed by Sir Andrew to the Clown he thus comments on: "This is the mystifying kind of jargon which Rabelais loved. The words are not to be found in Rabelais's text, but poor rabbit-witted Sir Andrew is hardly likely to report correctly in the morning a difficult verbal quip which he had heard at a convivial debauch at a late hour the night before." In short, Mr. Lee is not content with the common opinion that in the Clown's jargon Shakespeare is imitating the humorous jargon of Rabelais. No, there must be a more definite source, some special phrase of Rabelais that has got itself transmogrified. And how has it got itself transmogrified? Ah! therein we have an example of Shakespeare's subtle sense of character. What the Clown really uttered was true Rabelais, but Sir Andrew could not of course be expected to remember in the morning what he had heard, when drunk, the night before. To have preserved the true Rabelais, for the delectation of future source-hunters, would have been to falsify Nature.

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## MEDIAEVAL STORY-BOOKS

Students of mediaeval Latin fiction, especially those interested in the class of *exempla*, have been eagerly awaiting, since 1893, the promised third volume of the *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*.<sup>1</sup> It has recently appeared and more than fulfils the expectations of scholars in this branch of literature. The author of this volume was associated with the late H. L. D. Ward in the preparation of the first two volumes of this great work, and has been able in many cases, so the Keeper of MSS informs us, to make use of Mr. Ward's notes—those admirable notes, which were so freely and unselfishly placed at the disposal of scholars everywhere. It is pleasant to think that the work he began has been continued, and, we trust, will be completed, in a way worthy of his memory and of the best traditions of the great library, to which for so many years he devoted his untiring labors.

It is only fifty-two years since Benfey in the introduction to his translation of the *Pantschatantra* laid the foundations of the study of comparative storiology and threw open an enormous and fascinating field for research. Since then has arisen an immense literature devoted to comparative mythology, popular tales, customs, and superstitions, etc.; while the earth has been ransacked from the Arctic regions to South Africa, and from India to our Pacific coast for the stories and beliefs of the people. The early interest in the subject centered in the question of the origin and diffusion of popular tales. At this stage of the study it was important to collect parallels and to track a given story, fable, or whatever it might be, to its original habitat. It was fortunate that for many years Benfey's theory of the literary transmission of stories prevailed and led to the investigation and publication of collections of oriental tales, and the study of the diffusion of their contents throughout the literature of Europe. Every possible channel of transmission was narrowly

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. III. By J. A. Herbert, B.A., Assistant in the Department of MSS. Printed by order of the Trustees. London, 1910. Crown 8vo, pp. xii + 720.

scanned, such as the Hebrew translators of Spain, the French *Fabliaux* writers, etc. It was in the course of this investigation that a new and important means of diffusion was discovered and a broad and fresh field of study.

As early as 1842 Thomas Wright, in the introduction to *A Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: A Contribution to the History of Fiction during the Middle Ages* (Percy Society, Vol. VIII), gave an outline of the use by preachers of illustrative stories, or *exempla*, to employ the technical term (not used by Wright). Bromyard's *Summa Praedicatorum*, and Herolt's *Sermones* and *Promptuarium Exemplorum* are cited. In the note to the eighty-third story, p. 74, Wright says: "Promptuarium (quoted from Jacobus de Vitriaco)." This is the only mention of the great preacher, to whom is due the later vogue of *exempla*, until 1862, when Goedeke in an article "Asinus Vulgi," in *Orient und Occident*, Vol. I, p. 531, first called attention to the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry. As I have already said in my Introduction to the *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, p. lii, "Goedeke himself had never heard of the *sermones vulgi* or seen any of the collections of Jacques de Vitry's *exempla*, which are to be found in Paris and elsewhere. He only knew that the author of the *Scala Celi* had used a *Speculum exemplorum Jacobi de Vitriaco*, and he also learned from the catalogues that a MS in Troyes contained: 'cxxxviii exempla sumpta ex sermonibus Jacobi de Vitriaco,' and that a Paris MS 3283 (fourteenth century) contained: 'Sermones et exempla Jacobi de Vitriaco.' From a comparison of the stories in the *Scala Celi* attributed to Jacques de Vitry with those in Wright's *Latin Stories*, Goedeke inferred that of the 225 *exempla* of the Harley MS 463 many were by Jacques de Vitry. In fact, thirty-six of Wright's stories are by Jacques de Vitry, although Wright was unaware of it."

Goedeke's valuable article does not seem to have aroused any interest in Jacques de Vitry's *exempla* and it was not until 1868 that Lecoy de La Marche, in his *La chaire française au Moyen Age*, gave for the first time a satisfactory account of them. The same writer in his *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon* (Société d'Histoire de France,



Paris, 1877) constantly cited Jacques de Vitry and printed several of his *exempla*.

By the systematic use in his sermons of illustrative stories Jacques de Vitry set an example to his successors which they were not slow in following. The foundation of the Franciscan and Dominican orders had given an enormous impulse to preaching and greatly modified its character. It became necessary to interest and amuse the common people and the preachers soon had to have at their command repositories of stories. Collections of all kinds, arranged alphabetically and otherwise, soon came into existence, and were later perpetuated and widely disseminated by the printing-press. These collections were translated and imitated in Italian, French, Provençal, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, and English. How enormous the mass of material is may be judged by the fact that the volume of the *Catalogue* before us is devoted entirely to this class of literature and contains the analysis of one hundred and nine manuscripts and refers to over eight thousand stories, many of which are, of course, frequently reprinted.

It will facilitate the task of examining this material if we first eliminate those works which have already been printed, wholly or in part, and are thus fairly well known and accessible to students.

The *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry (p. 1, Harley 463, and p. 26, Additional 26770) have been printed from a Paris MS, with references to the British Museum MSS, by Professor Crane for the Folk-Lore Society, 1890; the *Fables* of Odo of Cheriton (p. 31, Arundel 292, printed in full by Oesterley in *Jahrbuch für rom. und engl. Literatur*, Vol. IX [1868], pp. 127-54; p. 38, Additional 11579, printed by Hervieux in *Fabulistes latins*, Vol. IV [1896], p. 173, from MS 441 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the British Museum MS was used in collation; p. 46, Arundel 275, used by Hervieux, *op. cit.*, p. 173, for collation; p. 50, Harley 219, printed by Hervieux in first edition of *Fabulistes latins* [1884] [Vol. II, pp. 597-658, 661-702]); *Exempla* of Odo of Cheriton, contained in a collection of sermons on the Sunday-Gospels throughout the year (p. 57, Arundel 231, copious extracts printed by Hervieux from a Paris MS, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV [1896], pp. 127-145); Etienne de Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*, abridgment of Parts i-iv, imper-

fect (p. 78, Additional 22682, copious extracts printed from French MSS by Lecoy de La Marche in the work cited above); *Tractatus de abundantia exemplorum*, probably by Humbert de Romans (p. 88, Sloane 3102, printed, without date or place [J. Zainer, Ulm, 1470?], as *Liber de Abundantia Exemplorum Magistri Alberti Magni Ratispa. Episcopi ad omnem materiam*); Moralized Tales translated into Latin from the French of Nicholas Bozon (p. 100, Harley 1288, printed as an appendix to *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1889); Moralitates of Robert Holcot (p. 106, Arundel 384; p. 113, Additional 21429, p. 114, Royal 6 E. iii; p. 116, Egerton 2258, printed in Holcot's *In Librum Sapientiae Regis Salomonis Praelectiones* cexiii, Basle [?], 1586); Fifty-six moralized Tales, Fables and Similitudes, in Italian (p. 179, Additional 22557, printed by J. Ulrich in *Romania*, xiii [1884], pp. 27-59); *Gesta Romanorum*, partial English translation (pp. 252, 255, Harley 7333, Additional 9066, printed by Madden, Roxburghe Club, 1838, and Herrtage, Early English Text Soc., 1879); William of Waddington, *Manuel des péchés* (p. 273, Harley 273, printed from this MS, collated with Harley 4657, by F. J. Furnivall for Roxburghe Club and Early English Text Society; p. 292, several other MSS have been only partly used, some not at all); *Handlyng Synne*, English translation by Robert Mannyng of Brunne of the *Manuel des péchés* (p. 303, Harley 1701, the basis of Furnivall's editions in the Roxburghe Club and Early English Text Society); English Metrical Homilies on the Gospel Lessons (six MSS, of which, p. 328, Harley 4196, has been partly printed by Horstmann in *Altenglische Legenden*, N.F., Heilbronn, 1881, pp. 1-173. Horstmann also used Cotton, Tiberius E. vii); Five Tales, extracted from the writings of Petrus Damianus (p. 347, Burney 351, may be found in Migne, *Patrologia Lat.*, Vol. CXLV); Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, abridged extracts (p. 348, Additional 18346, p. 365, Arundel 407, may be found in Strange's edition, Cologne, 1851); *Alphabetum Narrationum*, A Translation in the Northumbrian Dialect (p. 440, Additional 25719, printed by Mrs. M. M. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales*, Early English Text Society, 1904-5); and, finally, Bromyard's *Summa Praedicantium* (p. 450, Royal 7 E. iv), and Herolt's *Promptuarium Exemplorum* (p. 452, Additional 19909)

have been frequently printed.<sup>1</sup> A few stories from other MSS have been printed from time to time, as, for example, nineteen tales from the *Speculum Laicorum*, to be mentioned more fully later in this article.

The remaining material consists largely of collections of tales, by known authors or anonymous, and arranged alphabetically or otherwise. The most interesting and important is the *Speculum Laicorum* (p. 370, Additional 11284), usually ascribed to John of Hoveden. This huge collection contains over six hundred stories to illustrate eighty-seven chapters of subjects arranged alphabetically. The MS was purchased in 1837 by the British Museum from Mr. W. J. Thoms, the famous antiquary, and has often been cited as "the Thoms MS."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Herbert discusses the authorship of the collection in his usual lucid manner and then gives a full analysis of the contents of the collection. A few words may be said here in regard to the analyses in this and the preceding volumes of the *Catalogue*. In general the stories are without literary form, often they seem mere memoranda for the preacher to expand as he wishes. The scholar who is comparing collections or tracing a particular *exemplum* wishes to know the substance of the story in a concise form, if possible, with references to other manuscripts or printed works. The analyses by the late Mr. Ward and Mr. Herbert are

<sup>1</sup> The contents of a certain number of MSS are known from other versions which have been printed, as for instance, the *Gesta Romanorum*, of which the British Museum possesses fourteen Latin, two English, and one German, MSS; *Vie des anciens pères* (p. 336, Additional 32678, seventy-four tales, of which twenty-six have been published separately in various places, see Herbert's list, p. 348); and *English Metrical Homilies* (p. 320, Additional 30358, printed by J. Small, *English Metrical Homilies*, Edinburgh, 1862; p. 322, Additional 22283, printed by Horstmann from the Vernon MS, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Bd. LVII [1877], pp. 279, 281-316). The German translation of Caesar of Helsterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum* (*Distinctiones VII-XII*), made by Johann Hartlieb, is now being edited by Professor Karl Drescher for the Prussian Academy's *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*.

<sup>2</sup> My attention was called to this collection many years ago while engaged in the preparation of the introduction to my edition of the *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*. My description there, p. lxxii, of the MS is not exact: "572 stories under 91 headings." I used the MS personally, and through the kindness of the late Mr. Ward I had a very full analysis of it. I said of the collection at that time: "The value of the collection, however, consists in the fact that the compiler was undoubtedly an Englishman, and put into his work, besides the hackneyed monkish tales from the usual sources, a large number of anecdotes of a local character, and often imparted a local color to one of the old stories. The work is also rich in allusions to English mediaeval superstitions. This collection is one of the most interesting I have examined, and deserves to be more widely known." I had hoped that some young American scholar would edit the work, but I learn now that the task has been undertaken by a French priest.

beyond all praise. Especially in the volume before us Mr. Herbert has shown himself profoundly acquainted with the vast and intricate subject of mediaeval tales. His references are exact and copious and will save the student an enormous amount of labor.

Of the contents of the *Speculum Laicorum* Mr. Herbert says: "There are nearly two hundred tales for which no authority is named. Many of these are evidently derived, directly or indirectly, from the works of Odo of Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry and similar sources, such as the collections of Mary-legends, which had become very numerous before the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The remainder belong to the category of "*temporum praeteritorum ac modernorum eventus*," which our author probably learnt at hearsay. In the great majority of these the scene is laid in England, generally in some specified locality, as Kent, Winchelsea, Berwick, Eynsham, etc. (especially the first-named, which occurs frequently). Two of the anecdotes (Nos. 33, 34) relate to traits in Henry III's character; five others are narrated as having occurred during his reign (Nos. 208, 280, 298, 364, 421); and others contain marks of time which assign them to the same period, e.g. No. 149 is dated 1247, No. 478 refers to the death of Robert Grosseteste (1253) and Pope Innocent IV (1254), and in No. 265 Boniface of Savoy (ob. 1270) is spoken of as "*bonae memoriae*."<sup>2</sup>

Next in order is the *Liber Exemplorum secundum ordinem Alphabeti* (p. 414, Additional 18351) of French origin, as Mr. Herbert points out. It is made from the usual sources, but contains one tale which I have never seen before in a Latin prose version. It is No. 28 (chap. xlix, "*Gaudium*"), the story of the Jongleur

<sup>1</sup> It would be easy to add to Mr. Herbert's references. Sometimes the story is in both Odo of Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry, e.g., Nos. 365 (J. de Vitry, 209) and 566 (J. de Vitry, 191).

<sup>2</sup> While Thoms owned the MS he published nineteen tales in *Altdeutsche Blätter*, II (1840), pp. 74-82, and ten of these were reprinted by Wright in his *Latin Stories*, Percy Society, 1843. Seven stories from MS Additional 33957 were printed by Dr. J. K. Ingram in a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, April 10, 1882, and reprinted from *Proceedings*, 2d Series, Vol. II, No. 5. The MS in question formerly belonged to the Diocesan Library of Derry. In the same paper Dr. Ingram referred to another MS in the same library, which is now MS Additional 33956 of the British Museum and will be mentioned later. Mr. Herbert says that many of the tales in the *Speculum Laicorum* were used by the author of the *Speculum Spiritualium*, Paris, 1510, a work I have not seen. Six other MSS of the *Speculum Laicorum* are described by Mr. Herbert. Only one (p. 406, Additional 17723) is of interest from the localization of some of the stories at Oxford.

turned monk, who dances while the others chant psalms. The French metrical version (found in five MSS only) is well known. Is this prose story the hitherto undiscovered original of the French poem?<sup>1</sup>

Of greater interest is the *Alphabetum Narrationum* (p. 423, Harley 268), usually attributed to Etienne de Besançon, but, according to Mr. Herbert, more probably compiled in 1308 by Arnold de Liège. This interesting discovery of Mr. Herbert was published in *The Library* for January, 1905, pp. 94-101. I was clearly in error in my interpretation of Herolt's citations from "Arnoldus." My excuse is that I followed Oesterley and was unable to see a copy of the *Gnotosolitus* (which is not in the British Museum). The English translation of this interesting collection has been printed by the Early English Text Society (see above), and there is, substantially, a French translation yet unpublished in Royal 15 D. v, analyzed by Mr. Herbert on p. 441. A Catalan translation, as I pointed out many years ago, is in the *Recull de Eximplis* published at Barcelona in 1881-84.

I may mention here, although somewhat out of order, the work known as "Convertimini," from the opening word: "Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro," and probably, as Mr. Herbert thinks, by Robert Holcot. This work, of which there are eight MSS (pp. 116-55, Royal 7 C. i; Cotton, Vitellius C. xiv; Additional 16170; Harley 5369, 5396; Arundel 384; Sloane 1616; and a fragment in Harley 206), is really a treatise (it is called a "Tractatus" in three of the MSS) for the use of preachers, containing moralized *exempla*. The first-mentioned MS contains one hundred and forty-five *exempla*, of which thirty-one are to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum* and eight in Holcot's *Moralitates*. It may be, of course, as Mr. Herbert says, that the author of the present work, like the compilers of the *Gesta*, borrowed from Holcot; but it seems more natural to conclude that Holcot wrote the present work as well as the *Moralitates*, repeat-

<sup>1</sup> See *Romanische Forschungen*, Bd. XI (1901), pp. 223-88, "Der Springer unserer lieben Frau," von H. Wächter. The poet says, p. 251, that his original is, "Es vies des anchlens peres. . . . Nos raconte d'un essamplel," and, p. 277, "Che nos racontent li saint pere." The story does not appear in the lists published of the various versions of this work. The editor says, p. 248, "Die lat. Vorlage (dtits, wie der Dichter, v. 584, sagt) habe ich in den Acta Sanctorum nicht entdecken können." This was, indeed, looking for a needle in a haystack.

ing himself to a certain extent; and that his writings were used, more freely than has hitherto been supposed, in the compilation of the *Gesta Romanorum*. In any case the "Convertimini" presents an attractive subject of investigation.

There remains the category of Collected Tales—Anonymous, comprising no less than forty MSS, and filling two hundred and fifty-eight pages of the *Catalogue*. It is difficult to describe this huge mass of inedited material. It is capable, however, of great compression, since the bulk of the stories is furnished by a few well-known collections from which all mediaeval compilers freely drew. The real value of these compilations consists in the local tales and customs and superstitions which they contain. One of the most interesting of these anonymous collections is that in Royal 7 D. i., which Mr. Herbert describes as "a collection of 315 edifying tales, compiled in England in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably by a Dominican friar at or near Cambridge." This collection was probably one of the sources of the *Speculum Laicorum*, and, as Mr. Herbert says, "contains what appear to be the Latin texts used by William of Waddington for five tales in his *Manuel des péchés*." It also includes an early version (probably the earliest extant) of one of the *Gesta Romanorum* stories. This is the tale technically known as "Fuss ab," Oesterley No. 127, who cites: "Jac. de Vitriaco; *Scala Celi*, 15; *Promptuarium exemplorum de Temp.* 24." These references all belong to No. 80, "Angel and Hermit," and I do not now recall any parallels to No. 127 except those in the MSS cited by Mr. Herbert.

Other extensive and interesting collections are: Arundel 506, two hundred and forty-eight stories, in three distinct collections; Harley 268, two hundred and nine tales; Additional 15833, one hundred and sixty-eight tales, of which a certain number are of German origin; Additional 33956, a collection of seven hundred and sixty-two *exempla* compiled from various sources for the use of preachers, and arranged in groups according to subjects, a very interesting collection, connected with Royal 7 D. i and the *Speculum Laicorum*; and Additional 27336, three hundred and forty-six tales, evidently compiled by a Franciscan in northern Italy (see also Additional 11872, another collection formed in Italy, probably



by a Franciscan, and Harley 3938, also of Italian origin), containing a considerable number of new stories. I may mention finally two collections in English: Harley 1288 and 2250, the latter extracted from John Mirk's *Festial* (printed in Early English Text Society, 1905).

In the Anonymous Collections are to be found many Miracles of the Virgin, to be added to the collections already analyzed by the late Mr. Ward in Vol. II of this *Catalogue*. These additional miracles occur in the third volume on pp. 467 (25 miracles); 523 (23); 540 (12); 546 (12); 557 (12); 575 (9); 696 (29); and 699 (5). Besides these there are two MSS, Additional 18344 and Sloane 2478, containing some eighteen miracles of the Virgin.

It will be seen from what has been said above that the range of this volume is a narrow one compared with that of Vols. I and II, which contained, among others, romances belonging to the great cycles of antiquity, those concerning Arthur and Charlemagne, northern and eastern tales, Aesopic fables, visions of Heaven and Hell, Miracles of the Virgin, etc. The relatively few questions which arise in this volume have been discussed by Mr. Herbert in a very satisfactory manner. We have already seen his interesting contribution to the authorship of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*; on p. 88, Sloane 3102, he makes a similar investigation as to the compiler of the *Tractatus de abundantia exemplorum*, whom he identifies with Humbert de Romans. Mr. Herbert has overlooked the fact that the writer of this article, in a letter to the (*London*) *Academy*, January 30, 1886, pointed out Hauréau's mistake and suggested the authorship of Humbert de Romans. In the examination of Arundel 292 Mr. Herbert gives a very complete and lucid account of Odo of Cheriton, so long a mysterious figure in the history of mediaeval fiction. In the same way there is an excellent summary of the question of the *Gesta Romanorum*, of which fourteen Latin, two English, and one German, manuscripts are described by Mr. Herbert. His conclusions are worth repeating: "On the whole, the evidence available hitherto points to the conclusion that the *Gesta* was originally formed in Germany early in the fourteenth century, the writings of Holcot, as well as other English sources, being utilized; that this original compilation is represented, more or less exactly, by the Inns-



bruck MS of 1342; and that the Anglo-Latin MSS contain a free adaptation made in England about half a century later."

As has already been said, Mr. Herbert shows a profound knowledge of mediaeval fiction and has made this volume of the *Catalogue* an entertaining as well as a useful work. One illustration may be given of the author's wide reading and of the value of *exempla* for the question of the diffusion of popular tales. Jacques de Vitry tells a story (ed. Crane, 88) of a man flying from his master. He is mounted on a roan (*rufus*) horse, with a boy in front of him to show the way. The boy tells him he is pursued by a man on a black horse, and, presently, by a man on a white horse; but the fugitive easily outrides them. When the boy, however, tells his master that another is pursuing them on a roan horse, the fugitive directs the boy to guide the horse into a stony path and through the water into a miry road. They escape, and the horses of different colors are explained by Jacques de Vitry as adversity, prosperity, and the reputation of sanctity, with which the devil tempts man. Mr. Herbert says, p. 6: "General E. Daumas, *Les chevaux du Sahara* (5th ed. 1858, p. 140), tells this anecdote of Ben Dyab, a chief of the desert about 1500. He asks his son the colour of his foremost pursuers' horses. His son answers, 'White.' 'Ride in the sun,' says Ben Dyab, 'they will melt like butter.' Again, 'Black.' 'Ride on the stones, they are as tender-footed as a negress of the Soudan.' But when the son says, 'Dark chestnut and dark bays,' Ben Dyab exclaims, 'Then spur for your life.' This is a curious instance of the tenacious life of a popular tale." It is, of course, difficult to say whether Jacques de Vitry picked up this tale when he was in the Orient or heard it from a returned crusader.

Thanks to Mr. Herbert's innumerable cross-references it is possible to trace a given story through a great number of versions. In some cases a story thought to be rare is found to occur not infrequently. An example or two will show how entertaining the *Catalogue* is. Mussafia in his *Mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, III, p. 51, No. 79, cites from Herolt's *Promptorium*, *De Miraculis B.V.M.*, Ex. 79 (78 in ed. of Venice, 1606), the story of the Parisian cleric who ardently desired to behold the beauty of the Virgin. An angel appeared to him and informed him that his wish would be granted,

but that he would become blind. The cleric determined to cover with his hand one eye and thus save it. He does so, but regrets that he did not behold the Virgin with both eyes and begs to see her again even if he has to lose both eyes. The Virgin is moved by his piety and appears to him and restores his sight. Mussafia says: "Diese recht anziehende Legende ist mir in lateinischen Sammlungen nicht aufgestossen. Sie kommt im Englischen vor und Horstmann (*Altengl. Legenden*, N.F., 1881, S. 499 ff.) hat sie nach einer Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts abgedruckt. Auch Zupitza, welcher sie zum Gegenstande einer Erörterung machte (*Archiv f. das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, LXXXII, S. 465), vermochte keine andere Fassung als die von Herolt nachzuweisen, bemerkt aber, dass die englische Erzählung einer anderen Quelle gefolgt sein müsse. Bolte, der aus einer Berliner Hs. des 15. Jahr. eine ähnliche Legende in alamannischer Mundart (*Alemannia*, XVII, 2) druckte, gibt zu derselben keinen Nachweis." The story occurs in Additional 15833, No. 123 (*Catalogue*, p. 593). Mr. Herbert says: "Agrees substantially with Herolt, see this *Cat.* II, pp. 674, 687 (Additional 33956, No. 29; Additional 19909, a MS of Herolt's *Prompt. de Mirac. B.V.M.*).<sup>1</sup>

I remember being very much struck many years ago by a story in the *Speculum Laicorum*, which I did not otherwise know. It was the tale of St. Theodore, Bishop of Sion, who was tormented with gout and could relieve his pain only by cooling his feet. His fishermen in midsummer find a great block of ice in the river and bring it to the bishop. The bishop rested his feet on it and assuaged his pain, but the ice did not melt and finally a voice issued from it saying that the soul of a sinner was confined in it and could be liberated only if thirty masses were said for its repose on thirty con-

<sup>1</sup> In another case, Mussafia, *op. cit.*, III (1889), p. 7, n. 1, says that he does not know the story "Kleiner Teufel in der Kirche," referred to by Mr. Ward in a communication to him. In the second volume of the *Catalogue*, published in 1893, p. 704 (Royal 8 C. iv, No. 42) the story appears in an intelligible form, with references to Vincent of Beauvais, VII (VIII), 118, *Scala Celi*, f. 117, and *Prompt. Ezemp. C. iii*. Another interesting story is mentioned by Mussafia, *op. cit.*, p. 12, as otherwise unknown to him. It is the story of the beggar who finds an old neglected image of the Virgin, which had been thrown out of a neighboring church. He builds a chapel out of branches and puts the image in it and adorns it with flowers. The Virgin appears to him and sends him to warn a bishop who was growing forgetful of her. As a sign of his divine commission the Host turns into a child in the bishop's hands. The beggar accomplishes his mission and then enters a cloister. This story also occurs in *Cat.*, Vol. II, pp. 698, No. 17 (Additional 32248); 659, No. 26 (Additional 18929).

secutive days. When half of the masses were said the devil stirred up a tumult in the city and the bishop had to omit the service for a day. That meant beginning all over again. Twice this occurred. The third time all the masses but one were said when the bishop was told that the whole city and palace were in flames. The bishop declared that he would not give up the mass even if the whole city and his palace were consumed. When the last mass was said the ice suddenly melted and the flames vanished "tanquam fantasma." The only parallel I could find to this highly dramatic story was an incomplete version in the *Libro de los Exemplos*, ed. Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, Vol. VII, p. 503 (No. 28). Years afterward I found the story in the *Legende Aurea*, cap. CLXIII (ed. Graesse, p. 731), "De Commemoratione animarum." There are four versions in Herbert's *Catalogue*: pp. 330, No. 21 (Harley 4196, in the English Metrical Homilies); 383, No. 156 (Additional 11284, Speculum Laicorum); 630, No. 54 (Additional 33956); and 685, No. 43 (Harley 1288). Hervieux prints a version from the Douce MS 88 in his *Fabulistes latins*, Vol. IV (1896), p. 254, Odo of Cheriton.

The great value of the present volume for students of mediaeval fiction is clear from the little I have said, and Mr. Herbert has earned the gratitude of all students in that field. A fourth volume is promised, which will include Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and their precursors in Boccaccio's *Decameron* and elsewhere, and romances by Petrarch, Aeneas Sylvius, and others, together with an Appendix containing MSS acquired since the publication of the previous volumes or inadvertently omitted from them. A General Index to all four volumes will also be added. If the tales could be indexed under catch-words it would indeed be a boon to students.

It is to be hoped that this volume will revive an interest in mediaeval Latin prose fiction. A knowledge of this subject is so necessary for an understanding of the mediaeval literature of Europe. The tales in this volume and the Miracles of the Virgin registered in Vol. II have profoundly influenced every class of literature in the Romance, as well as in the Germanic, languages. An interesting introduction to the study of the texts exists in Ulrich's *Proben der lateinischen Novellistik des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1906. The four great basic works: the *Vitae Patrum*, the *Dialogues* of Gregory, the

*Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, and the *Legenda Aurea*, are accessible and are most interesting reading from every standpoint. What is greatly needed is some general work on the subject; Gröber's huge *Uebersicht* in the *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. II, is singularly unattractive in form. An interesting and valuable work could be made on the most popular mediaeval Latin legends in their relations to the versions in the modern languages. This *Catalogue* will be helpful in this task and the student should not overlook the amazing treasure-house of parallels (for the tales of oriental origin) to be found in Chauvin's *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège, 1892-1909. May some American scholar find his field in some part of this vast and interesting subject.

T. F. CRANE

ITHACA, N.Y.  
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## THE GERMAN ROMANTIC "MÄRCHEN"

It was only in the shorter narrative forms that the members of the so-called Romantic groups in Germany found success. Friedrich Schlegel, it is true, was filled with a boiling enthusiasm for Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, and proclaimed the "Roman" as the romantic form *par excellence*;<sup>2</sup> but all of the attempts of the Romanticists in this field, from Tieck's *Sternbald* to the last of the melancholy refurbishings of Fouqué, remained fragments, or lack the marrow of life. The Novelle, if not a creation of the Romanticists, was at least a form which they developed or rounded into shape; but from the formal side their accomplishments in this field seem crude when compared with the later creations of virtuosos like Keller and C. F. Meyer and Storm. In the Märchen, however, Romantic art reached its highest development, and both in their reproduction of the Volksmärchen and in the more subjective Kunstmärchen, the writers of this period developed a style which has not been equaled by succeeding generations, but has cast its spell over the entire nineteenth century and has still vigor to inspire imitation and reproduction.

In the Märchen the Romanticists found the most convenient form for the expression of their ideas and longings. Not all of them go so far as Hardenberg-Novalis, who proclaims the Märchen the canon of all poetry;<sup>3</sup> but all, program makers like the Schlegels and poets like Tieck and Brentano alike, find themselves strongly attracted by this form. "Es kann kein Zweifel darüber sein," writes Hettner in 1849, at the beginning of that decade following the Revolution which Erich Marcks has so strikingly described as *bleiern*, "es kann kein Zweifel darüber sein, dass das Märchen nicht mehr dem Wesen unserer Zeit entspricht"; but, he adds, with the Romanticists it was entirely different: whoever wishes to know them from their most attractive side must become acquainted with their

<sup>1</sup> Since the preparation of this paper, which has been completed in its present form since 1908, much new light has been thrown upon the Romantic Märchen by R. Benz in his *Märchen Dichtung der Romantiker*, Gotha, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Minor, *Fr. Schlegels Jugendschriften*, 2 A., II, 373.

<sup>3</sup> Novalis, *Schriften*, hrsgb. von J. Minor, III, 4.

epic and dramatic Märchen. It was the free play of fancy that drew the Romanticists to this form, the subjective freedom to roam in the domain of unreality and dreams, to destroy and re-create at will a world with its own mythology and nature laws. In the Märchen, with its essentially symbolic nature, men like Novalis and Brentano found the best field for that "Vermittelung des Ewigen und Irdischen auf dem Gebiete der Poesie," which Eichendorff defines as the true aspiration of Romantic art.

No literary form, then, equaled the Märchen in popularity, and its vogue begins with the very first ironical beginnings of the new spirit that Tieck insinuated into the stale and unprofitable *Straussfedergeschichten* which he was editing for Nicolai in Berlin. Tieck's *Volksmärchen von Peter Leberecht* appeared in 1797 as the first poetic achievement of the so-called Romantic school, standing among the publications of Nicolai's press like a Trojan horse, big with the possibilities of disaster to the prosaic spirit. The collection was greeted with joy by Wilhelm Schlegel in the *Athenaeum*.<sup>1</sup> He finds in Tieck's nature Märchen, *Der Blonde Eckbert*, a poetic prose which reminds him forcibly of Goethe's "golden Märchen," which he calls "das Märchen par excellence." Even before Novalis' *Lehrling zu Sais* and *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, containing his two symbolic Märchen, appeared in 1802, Clemens Brentano had already written the first of his capricious stories, *Die Rose*, and may have already begun his *Rheinmärchen*.<sup>2</sup> Three years later, in 1806, after the publication by Brentano and Arnim of their great collection, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, the enthusiasm for gathering the accessible fragments of popular poetry transferred itself almost immediately to the field of the Märchen. Even before the *Wunderhorn* had left the press, Arnim had invited his friends to send for publication any folk-tales which they could gather; upon receipt of the *Wunderhorn* and infected by this enthusiasm for popular poetry, Otto Runge wrote down the two Low-German tales, "Vom Machandelboom" and "Vom Fischer und sine Fru,"<sup>3</sup> and about the same

<sup>1</sup> I, 167. W. Schlegels sämtliche Werke, XII, 27 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps as early as 1800. Cf. O. Bleich, *Herrigs Archiv*, XCVI, 43 ff.

<sup>3</sup> R. Steig, *Herrigs Archiv*, CVII, 281, discusses interestingly the importance of Runge's contribution.



time Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm began to get together the great collection which they afterward published as *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. In 1808 Arnim's *Einsiedlerzeitung* published, along with many other fragments of folklore, Runge's "Märchen vom Machandelboom," which with its simple, naïve style gave the chord for the Grimms in their rewriting of the popular stories, and drew a line at once between the Volksmärchen, a retelling in the simple narrative manner of the peasantry, and the Kunstmärchen, including the essentially original productions of Novalis and the subjective, capricious re-creations of the popular Märchen by Tieck and Brentano. In 1812, a momentous year for the history of the Märchen, appeared the first volume of Grimms' collection and somewhat earlier the collection of their rival Büsching—*Volkssagen, Märchen und Legenden*—while Tieck's *Phantasia*, with its new and old stories, gave fresh impetus to the Kunstmärchen. Indeed, it is difficult to exaggerate the interest and activity in the entire field of Märchen-dichtung during the first and second decades of the century. Hoffmann's *Meister Floh*, appearing in 1821, shows the enthusiasm for the ironical Märchen as a vehicle for satire still at the flood; and one has but to glance into the Taschenbücher and Almanache and other periodicals of the time to find all possible varieties of the Märchen form.

What did the Romanticists conceive under this complex and variable form? The word and to some extent the idea too were an inheritance from the Aufklärung, and indeed from a much earlier period. It is necessary to take a brief glance at these sources of the Märchen, determining, as they do to some extent, Romantic practice. In the sixteenth century the Neapolitan Giovanni Battista Basile had collected and retold in his *Pentamerone*,<sup>1</sup> with coarse realism, but with real popular humor, the folk-tales of Southern Italy. In France in 1697 Charles Perrault defied the canons of the elegant age of Louis XIV by telling in a simple, childlike manner many international Märchen, such as his "Peau d'Ane,"

<sup>1</sup> Accessible to me only in the German translation by P. Haichen, Berlin. Felix Liebrecht's translation, Breslau, 1846, has an introduction by J. Grimm. Cf. also Grimm's characterization of Basile in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, III, 276 ff.

"Cendrillon," "La Belle au Bois Dormant," "La Barbe Bleue," etc.<sup>1</sup> Perrault's are real Volksmärchen; in the hands of a contemporary of his, the Countess d'Aulnoy,<sup>2</sup> they become elegant fairy stories, closely adapted to the spirit of the age. With the advent of the *Arabian Nights*, came new motives; and with the spread of the Aufklärung, a pedagogical direction. Wieland caught the spirit of the rococo "Cabinet des Fées" and imitated them, though the satirical side-thrust is rarely ever wanting. His *Don Sylvio von Rosalba* has much the same relation to the popular Märchen as Cervantes' *Don Quixote* has to the romances of chivalry. Wieland's definition of a Märchen bears the stamp of the pedagogical Aufklärung.<sup>3</sup> He demands the free play of fancy in a world of dreams, where the strange and paradoxical conceals a deeper meaning, with all the complications of an eighteenth-century romance. For the children's fairy story, told in the natural tone of the child, he would allow no place in literature. Herder, in spite of his enthusiasm for popular poetry, arrived at no clear conception of the Märchen. He finds it deeply rooted in human nature, and claims for it a mighty influence in the education or corruption of the human soul.<sup>4</sup> Musäus in his *Volksmärchen der Deutschen*, 1787, based himself in part on Perrault and Basile; and with the true spirit of a son of the Aufklärung, he makes use of the Märchen as a weapon for fighting the whining sentimentality of the tearful literary successors of *Werther* and *Siegwart*.<sup>5</sup> In part Musäus tells his stories from popular tradition, and in motive and language he weaves many popular elements into his Märchen. Wherever the motives come from, even if, as has lately been denied by Erich Bleich,<sup>6</sup> some of the stories were invented out and out by Musäus, there is in him no trace of the naïveté of the Volksmärchen, nor any trace of the exuberant freedom of fancy belonging to the Kuntsmärchen of Romanticism. Our delight in his stories is clouded by the fact

<sup>1</sup> Perrault, *Les contes de ma mère l'Oye*, edited by P. L. Jacob, Paris, 1836.

<sup>2</sup> Lothelissen, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur im 17. Jahrh.*, III, 260.

<sup>3</sup> Wieland, *Werke*, XIX, 254.

<sup>4</sup> Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, XXIII, 373.

<sup>5</sup> "Er fasste die glückliche Idee, durch seine Volksmärchen das Gewimmel und Gewinnsele der Siegartianer zu übertönen."—Tieck, "Peter Leberecht," *Schriften*, XIV, 165.

<sup>6</sup> *Herrigs Archiv*, CVIII, 4.

that the author never lets us forget that he himself does not believe in talking animals or dancing gnomes and fairies. Even in the cleverly told "Melechsala" and in the "Legende von der heiligen Elisabeth" the extraordinary events suggest obligato witticisms à la Voltaire. In addition, Musäus draws no line of distinction between Mythos, Sage, Märchen, Märe, Fabel, etc., and includes among his Volksmärchen stories, like "Melechsala," which contain merely a few legendary motives, or others, like "Libussa," which are nothing but witty Novellen.

An epoch-making event in the development of the Märchen was the appearance of Goethe's "Märchen" in the *Unterhaltung deutscher Ausgewanderten* in 1796-97. With the exception of *Wilhelm Meister*, no work of Goethe's met with such extravagant praise from the members of the Jena group of Romanticists. "Das Märchen par excellence" is Wilhelm Schlegel's opinion, already referred to. "Eine erzählte Oper" is Novalis' picturesque description;<sup>1</sup> only Tieck, in the conversations in *Phantastus* fifteen years later,<sup>2</sup> criticizes its lack of intelligible content, "Es verfliegt und zersplittert noch mehr als ein Traum," and regards Klingsohr's Märchen in Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* as much more intelligible. That the obscure symbolism of Goethe's story was as difficult to his contemporaries as to us is apparent from the reviews of that time: what attracted Schlegel and Novalis was the glitter and music of the poetic prose, the profound symbolism of the conception of nature, and, above all, the freedom of fancy, the *pro ratione voluntas* so sympathetic to Romantic art canons. Goethe's symbolic conception of nature, as it were the creation of a new mythology, discovered a fresh possibility in the Märchen, which one member of the Romantic group, Novalis, was not slow to adopt and enlarge upon. Of the half-dozen or more Märchen which Goethe in a letter to Schiller claims to have had in mind in 1798,<sup>3</sup> only two, "Die neue Melusine" and "Der neue Paris," were written down eventually, and they do not appear until years later, too late to be of influence on the Romantic Märchen, which had ere this turned away from the symbolic to

<sup>1</sup> Novalis, *Schriften*, III, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Tieck, *Schriften*, IV, 119 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Goethe an Schiller, 3 Feb. 1798, *Briefwechsel* (Cotta), 4 A. 2, 24.

other forms. Indeed, the debt is rather on the other side, at least in "Der neue Paris," where Goethe is strongly influenced by Romantic mediaeval motives.

We need not expect to find among the program makers of the Romantic School any such sharp characterization of the nature of the Märchen as would answer the demands of modern philology. The very nebulousity of style which marks the Romantic theorists, with the exception of W. Schlegel, would stand in the way of such definition, and a sharp delimitation of any literary genius was diametrically opposed to Romantic art theories. To attempt to classify *Wilhelm Meister*, says Fr. Schlegel, "das ist als wenn ein Kind Mond und Gestirne mit der Hand greifen und in sein Schächtelchen packen will."<sup>1</sup> And elsewhere the same critic says that there is only one poetry and that the only permissible question is, whether it be beautiful—"nach der Rubrik könne nur der Pedant fragen."<sup>2</sup> Even with this bumptious admonition in mind, we can still find enough that is definite in romantic theories of the Märchen to repay our search.

In the same "Gespräch über die Poesie" from which the last quotation is taken Fr. Schlegel himself concedes that there do exist certain original forms which do not overlap, and of these the Märchen and Novelle seem the exact contrast of each other: of the Märchen he demands in one of the *Athenaeum* fragments<sup>3</sup> an unending wealth of fancy, for its aim is not merely to entertain the imaginative faculty, but to throw its magic power over the intellect and excite the emotions as well. Indeed, no other form of literature fulfils so completely the definition of true poetry as set forth in Schlegel's impassioned plea for a new mythology: "Denn das ist der Anfang aller Poesie, den Gang und die Geetze der vernünftig denkenden Vernunft aufzuheben und uns wieder in die schöne Verwirrung der Fantasie, in das ursprüngliche Chaos der menschlichen Natur zu versetzen."<sup>4</sup>

With more enthusiasm, but with equal indefiniteness, Novalis places the Märchen before us as the canon of all poetry. Fr. Schlegel had called the Roman *the* literary form of Romanticism: Novalis

<sup>1</sup> *Jugendchriften*, II, 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 374.

<sup>3</sup> No. 429, *Jugendchriften*, II, 284.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 362.

rates Roman and Märchen equally high.<sup>1</sup> From his ninth year on the reading of Märchen had been his favorite amusement,<sup>2</sup> the paramount freedom of fancy and the play of the supernatural and miraculous appealed to him in this literary form because they coincided with his philosophical theories. The boundless freedom of the human will, which as with a magic touch transforms the possible into the impossible, he found already existent in the Märchen, where miracles and wonders play hide and seek with the realities of life. To his mystic vision the outer world of reality had already been superseded by an inner Märchenwelt, to him the real world, and in the Märchen of literature he finds a reflection of his own inner life. He exhausts himself in efforts to find a satisfactory characterization of the Märchen—a definition one can hardly call it. It is to him a dream vision without inner coherence, a mixture of wonderful things and events, a musical fantasy, a harmonious succession of chords from an Aeolian harp; it is nature itself. In the course of time all history must become a Märchen, as it was in the beginning.<sup>3</sup> In the *Jugendhefte* we find numerous attempts to get nearer to the inner nature of this puzzling form. "Alle Romane, wo wahre Liebe vorkommt, sind Märchen."<sup>4</sup> He classifies Goethe's *Werther* and *Wilhelm Meister* as Märchen;<sup>5</sup> and finally exclaims, "Alles ist ein Märchen."<sup>6</sup> The real Märchen must be a prophecy; the writer must be able to read the future. It is due, he says, only to our own weakness that we cannot look into a fairy world. "Alle Märchen sind nur Träume von jener heimatlichen Welt, die überall und nirgends ist."<sup>7</sup> With somewhat greater definiteness he sketches the characteristics of a sort of higher Märchen, which, without losing the freedom of the Märchen, is to contain a symbolic ground tone, in other words, a Märchen like Goethe's.<sup>8</sup> We shall see presently that it is just this kind that Novalis represented most clearly among the Romanticists.

Schlegel and Novalis were struggling for a definition of the genus, with the quite correct feeling that here was a literary form new and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Haym, *Romant. Schule*, 379.

<sup>2</sup> Kreisamtman Justin Minor, *Novalis' Schriften*, I, III; also Tieck, *ibid.*, xxii ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Schriften*, II, 308 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fragment aus der Nachlese von Bülow, *Schriften*, III, 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 309.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 327.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 310.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 20.

unique. They failed to reach a definition because, with the buoyant enthusiasm of the creative period of Romanticism, they were unwilling to accept any limits. Tieck, the less original but more consistent spirit, was scarcely more successful. In the art discussions of *Phantásus* (1812), the company seek to analyze the nature of the Märchen, but get no further than the discovery that there is in all Märchen a common chord, "jener wundersame Ton, der in uns anschlägt, wenn wir das Wort Märchen nennen hören."<sup>1</sup> The author finds in the Märchen a mingling of the charming and horrible, of strange and childlike traits, a confusion, which in some cases drives our imagination to poetic madness.<sup>2</sup> How far the connotation of the vague term goes is evidenced by an exclamation of Rosalis, one of the characters in *Phantásus*, who calls the beautiful sunset "ein Märchen."<sup>3</sup>

E. T. A. Hoffmann, in the *Serapionsbrüder*, demands that the Märchen bear a firm kernel in spite of all of its fluttering fancy and freedom, in itself a plea for the Märchen of ethical tendency. "Das Märchen muss nachtönen, nachgeniessen."<sup>4</sup>

It is evident that all of the romantic theories of the Märchen thus far examined do little more than emphasize this form as a romantic form *par excellence*, a form in which unrestrained freedom of imagination and wealth of fancy may riot, without excluding a deeper, symbolic undertone. A further step in the direction of clearness came with the publication of Grimms' *Deutsche Sagen* in 1816. Fr. Schlegel had set the Märchen over against the Novelle; the Grimms drew a deep line between Märchen and Sage, in that the Märchen is the more poetical and stands as an entity in itself, independent of time and place, a bit of nature poetry. In order to accept this definition, however, one must first accept the Grimms' distinction between nature poetry and art poetry, and that brings us to an examination of the Romantic *practice* in the Märchen.

The first of the Romanticists to make use of the Märchen form was Tieck, who had begun to create a romantic literature ere Fr. Schlegel had developed his romantic program. A distinction must

<sup>1</sup> Tieck, *Schriften*, IV, 119 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 129 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>4</sup> *Sämmtliche Werke*, hrsgb. von E. Grisebach, VI, 250 ff.

be made between the earlier Märchen of Tieck and those written after his return from Italy which appeared for the first time in *Phantasmus*. The former show, besides the satirical-ironical fantasies of "Blaubart" and the coarse-drawn woodcuts of the "Heymonskinder," such simple and yet powerful Naturmärchen as "Der blonde Eckbert" and "Der Runenberg"; the latter are in part Novellen, with merely remarkable episodes, like "Der Pokal" and "Liebeszauber," or incline rather toward the Sage, like "Die Elfen," showing the unconscious influence of the rising tide of interest in folklore. Tieck was in no sense a clear-cut theorist, and his use of the term Märchen is inconsistent enough to satisfy any Romantic foe of sharp classifications. The earliest work of his to bear this title, so far as I have been able to discover, is "Die Versöhnung," written in 1795, a story of a ghostly apparition with a background of rival brothers, in the best style of Vulpius & Company, only that here the setting is not a mediaeval castle, but a deep forest glade, and we observe already the mysterious nature spell which later on is so remarkable a feature of Tieck's nature Märchen. Strikingly enough, it appears to be just this gloomy nature background that prompts the use of the title "Märchen," for "Der Fremde," another ghost story, 1796, without the gloomy nature surroundings, bears no such subtitle. Furthermore, the collection entitled *Volksmärchen von Peter Leberecht*, which appeared in 1797, contains such widely divergent species as the consciously naïve re-telling of the old Volksbücher, like "Die Heymonskinder" and "Die schöne Magelone," the satirical fantastic dramatizations of old tales, such as "Die sieben Weiber des Blaubart," and "Der gestiefelte Kater," and gloomy stories of nature, like "Der blonde Eckbert." The difficulty of finding a definition broad enough to fit so widely divergent a group is increased when we include later Märchen, like "Der Runenberg" and "Liebeszauber." In the earlier group, as in "Der blonde Eckbert," the chief motive is a certain demoniacal element which grows in man's bosom amid gloomy nature surroundings until it finally overmasters him; in the *Phantasmus* group there is scarcely a trace of the supernatural in the horrible events which lead the heroes to insanity and suicide.

Musäus used the Märchen as a vehicle for his mockery at super-



stition and at belief in the Märchen itself: Tieck seizes it as a means of making sport of the self-conceited Aufklärung; and it is a clever remark of Köpke's that the title "Kindermärchen" applied to such satirical dramas as "Der gestiefelte Kater" is in itself a mocking shaft at the overwise pedantry of the Nicolais.<sup>1</sup> The manner of attack and the form both came from the Venetian Carlo Gozzi. In his *Fiabe Teatrali*, thirty years before, Gozzi had put the old stories of the Commedia del' Arte on the stage as a part of his campaign against the Frenchified comedies of Goldoni.<sup>2</sup> These mask dramas of Gozzi's were enthusiastically received by Wilhelm Schlegel,<sup>3</sup> and Tieck found in Gozzi a kindred spirit. In place of the puppet-like insipidities of the Italian's mask dramas, however, the German poet gives us much more serious content and treatment, the keen-tipped irony of "Blaubart" and the ethical ground tone of "Der gestiefelte Kater" contrasting sharply with Gozzi's loose, operetta-like dramatization.<sup>4</sup> This deeper meaning, which Tieck partly admits in theory as an essential element in the Märchen, is indeed present in all of his riper works, reminding us that the poet never entirely freed himself from the ban of the Aufklärung, as represented by Wieland and the Cabinet des Fées. In some cases one can write in below the moral of the story; in others, like the "Runenberg," Tieck's best Märchen, the ethical ground tone rings continually. More and more, as the years go by, Tieck's Märchen tend toward the Novelle, as the freedom of fancy of the earlier period yields to the chastening of ill health and advancing age.

Novalis' mystic words regarding the Märchen take form and shape when we examine the two which we have from him, that of Hyacinth and Rosenblüt in the *Lehrlinge zu Sais* and Klingsohr's Märchen in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. Both are "higher" Märchen

<sup>1</sup> Rud. Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck* (Leipzig, 1855), 208 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Memoirs of Carlo Gozzi*, translated by J. A. Symonds, London, 1890, Vol. II, where the author gives a minute account of his dispute with Goldoni and Chiari, and the production of his mask comedies. Gozzi's influence on the Romanticists has never been properly treated: the best résumé is to be found in Köster's *Schiller als Dramaturg*, 217 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, V, 365.

<sup>4</sup> "Ohne Gozzi nachahmen zu wollen, hatte mich die Freude an seinen Fabeln veranlasst, auf andere Weise und in deutscher Art ein fantastisches Märchen für die Bühne zu bearbeiten."—Tieck, speaking of the writing of "Blaubart," *Schriften*, I, vii; cf. also XV, 301.

in the sense indicated above;<sup>1</sup> that is, both have a deep, symbolical character. The former is rather in the style of Tieck; the latter is directly dependent on Goethe. In that profound nature rhapsody, the *Lehrlinge zu Sais*,<sup>2</sup> the author sees in the Märchen an attempt on the part of primitive man to explain the meaning of the world. As an illustration of the close alliance between poetry and nature he tells the story of Hyacinth, who sets forth to find Isis, the mystery of nature, and finds her at last in the person of his childhood love, Rosenblüt. The allegory, which contains something of Tieck's ethical basis, is almost lost sight of in the mystic beauty of Novalis' language. The romance *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* itself is saturated with the spirit of the Märchen, as the poet understands it. Dream and reality merge into each other with scarcely perceptible boundaries. The hero Heinrich meets a number of wonderful persons, each of whom is the allegorical representative of some phase of human experience, wonderful events crowd upon his senses, and we know from Novalis' notes that he intended that the Märchen world should reveal itself much oftener in the unwritten second part than it did in the first.<sup>3</sup>

Klingsohr's Märchen, which closes the first part of the romance, owes much to Goethe's Märchen. Both point to the setting-free from an enchantment and the beginning of a new era. With Goethe, this is probably accomplished through the union of the German people with the true ideals of art and beauty; with Novalis the enchantment is brought to an end when Eros (Love) and Freya (Longing) are united in the realm of poesy. This mystic allegory was to have its fulfilment in the union of Heinrich and Mathilde in the second part. Aside from the main idea, numerous minor motives hark back to Goethe, such as the lapidary style of the questions and answers in the colloquies. The brilliance and music of Novalis' language surpass even Goethe's, and the sense of a concealed and difficult allegory is no greater.<sup>4</sup> Forms are clearly drawn,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Novalis, *Schriften*, III, 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Parallipomena*, *Schriften*, IV, 254, 260.

<sup>4</sup> Haym, *Romantische Schule*, 383 ff., certainly exaggerates when he says, "Von einem unbefangenen Genuss dieser Dichtung kann nicht die Rede sein." In general, the difficulties of interpreting Klingsohr's Märchen are not nearly so great as is supposed, if one accepts certain mystic flourishes merely as decorative material. "Einzelne Züge sind bloss als Arabesken zu betrachten."—Novalis' letter to Fr. Schlegel, Raich, *Novalis' Briefwechsel mit Fr., etc.*, Schlegel, S. 139.

events clearly told. What torments the reader here is just what Novalis emphasized as the innermost essence of the Märchen: absolute freedom of imagination and an absolute lack of a logical succession of events. "Der Dichter betet den Zufall an"—the lack of motivation is, indeed, just that reflection of the Zufällig in nature which the poet sought. In the magical illumination of Novalis' rich imagination the wonderful or miraculous does not strike us as impossible, or even unusual. The real world has been completely replaced by the world of fancy: "Die Welt wird Traum, der Traum wird Welt." To explain the genesis of Klingsohr's Märchen one must take Fichte and Jacob Boehme in hand as well as Goethe.

Not symbolical, but in many cases having a deep ethical basis, are the Märchen of Clemens Brentano.<sup>2</sup> In the charming "Kommanditchen" Brentano tells of his childhood enthusiasm for Märchen, and describes with pathetic beauty the tiny fairy kingdom of Vadutz, built out of an empty hogshead by himself and his sister in the attic of the old house in Frankfort. Doubtless it was this memory that gave his Märchen in the first instance the childlike tone, which remains the ruling tone, in spite of all the ironical fancies of the author and the additions and changes made in later years, when he had given himself up to a mystic view of life. In part he uses literary originals, as in the six stories based on Basile's *Pentamerone*,<sup>3</sup> in part the Märchen are his own invention, as in "Müller Radlauf" and in "Das Märchen vom Hause Schaarenberg"—everywhere his imagination runs riot. From Basile's book, which he found in his father's library,<sup>4</sup> he had probably already begun to draw the outlines of some of his stories,<sup>5</sup> when, in 1808, J. Grimm invited him to join

<sup>1</sup> Novalis, *Schriften*, III, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Hrgb. von Guido Görres, 2 Bde. Cf. H. Cardauns, *Die Märchen Clemens Brentanos* (Köln, 1895).

<sup>3</sup> There are seven stories taken from Basile, if we include "Das Märchen von den Märchen," which corresponds to the introduction in Basile. It was Clemens probably who first called J. Grimm's attention to Basile. Cf. *Briefwechsel zwischen J. und W. Grimm aus der Jugendzeit* (Weimar, 1881), 153.

<sup>4</sup> Diel-Kreiten, *Clemens Brentano* (Freiburg, 1877), II, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Otto Bleich, *Herrigs Archiv*, XCVI, 43 ff., sets the origin of Brentano's fragmentary "Rose" as early as 1800; Cardauns, 59 ff., thinks that he was working on the *Rheinmärchen* as early as 1802. In 1805, in a letter to Arnim, he speaks of working over Italian *Kindermärchen*, meaning evidently Basile (Steig, *A. v. Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, 156). Interesting as an earlier instance of Brentano's free attitude toward popular tradition is "Die Geschichte des ersten Bärenhäuters" in the *Zeitung für Einsiedler* (Pfaß, 217 ff.), where he has transformed the old Märchen from *simplicissimus* in a quaint manner.

in a collection of *Volksmärchen* which was to be undertaken by various scholars and to go over Germany as with a fine-toothed comb for these remnants of popular poetry.<sup>1</sup> Differences in theory as to the treatment of their findings soon arose,<sup>2</sup> however, between Grimm and Brentano, and the latter went ahead writing Märchen in his own way. Two years later, in 1810, his friends Schinkel and Savigny in Berlin beg for some of Brentano's stories for their children.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the Italian Märchen, and others re-created from literary sources, whose origin falls in these years, there may have been still others, based on popular motives, and possibly lost during the period of the poet's renunciation of literature and all its works, after his conversion in 1816. It was probably in this period of tormenting soul-struggles, which began in 1814 and terminated with the poet's return to the communion of the church three years later, that Brentano's *Rheinmärchen* were written down. They are all essentially original with Brentano, and are all localized in and about the Rheingau. Doubtless some of them go back in concept to his earliest visit to the beautiful Rheinland, but it is a fair supposition that the poet found relief from his religious unrest in the years 1814-17 in weaving into Märchen form the legends and sagas of the romantic Rhineland.<sup>4</sup>

It was not until 1837 that Brentano, emerging for the moment from the sea of mysticism in which he had become engulfed, finally published his collection of Märchen. Difficult as it is to establish the genesis of the various stories, they are all alike in one essential particular: they all are, or were originally, *Kindermärchen*, and this determined to some extent their contents and form. The

<sup>1</sup> Diel-Kreiten, *op. cit.*, II, 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For Jacob Grimm's view of Brentano's method of procedure in his collections, cf. *Briefwechsel aus der Jugendzeit*, 98. In 1809 it had become clear that no alliance between the Grimms and the Arnim-Brentano group was possible. J. Grimm sends Clemens a little collection of Märchen, although he knows that Clemens' manner of treatment must differ from his own (*Briefwechsel*, 150). Later, while his own Märchen collection was still in the press, Jacob writes to Arnim of Clemens' Märchen: "Sein Buch erscheint mir im Voraus eine Befleckung der Kinderwahrheit" (Steig, *Arnim und J. und W. Grimm*, 236). Again in 1815 he writes of Clemens' treatment of the old stories, "Die Erdichtung des Stoffes in Romanen und Liedern ist immer sündlich" (*Briefwechsel*, 480). Brentano disapproved no less strongly of the Grimms' faithful adherence to the naive tone of the peasant tale (Steig, *A. v. Arnim und C. Brentano*, 309).

<sup>3</sup> Diel-Kreiten, *op. cit.*, II, 13.

<sup>4</sup> The chronology, especially of the *Rheinmärchen*, cannot be definitely fixed. Cf. Cardauns, *op. cit.*, 4 ff.; Diel-Kreiten, *op. cit.*, II, 10.

realism and filth of Basile, the rococo-pastoral tone of some of Brentano's French originals, give place to a chaste and dreamy fancy; the rugged motivation of the Neapolitan folk-stories yields to a deeper characterization and a perfect flood of clever ideas. All are set off by those graceful verses, which particularly in the "Gockel" and the "Schulmeister Klopstock" have an unfading freshness.<sup>1</sup> The Rheinmärchen, essentially original with Brentano, show the same rioting of fancy, and the same tendency to annex and alter material wherever found. In "Müller Radlauf" he weaves in three old German sagas: that of the Ratcatcher of Hamlin, Hatto and the Mouse Tower, and the Lorelei; and here, as elsewhere in the *Rheinmärchen*, he defies Grimm's distinction between Saga and Märchen by attaching his narrative to all sorts of localities: Mainz and the Eichelstein, the Mäuseturm, the Binger Loch, etc. It was just this freedom of fancy, especially the incorporation of all sorts of local and popular sagas, historical personalities, and antique myths, that prompts J. Grimm's striking remark in a letter to Arnim in 1812: "Das Unglück für Clemens ist, dass er viel zu viel literarische Materialien kennt."<sup>2</sup>

A striking instance of the romantic freedom of Brentano's Märchen style is found in his "Märchen vom Murmeltier." He treats here an old *motif*, found in Grimms' Märchen of Frau Holle, and borrowed by Brentano probably from the French *contes* of Madame de Ville-neuve. He has taken the rococo story of the French *conteuse* and made it over into a beautiful Märchen, with the freshest of forest backgrounds.<sup>3</sup>

Both in his stories taken from literary sources and in the essentially original Rheinmärchen Brentano is always falling into an ironical strain, and satirical references to the *Zeitgeist* occur constantly. Köster<sup>4</sup> and Cardauns<sup>5</sup> both deny any considerable influence on the part of Gozzi; indeed, the ironical tone is too characteristic of the Romantic era and especially of Brentano's earlier works, like *Godwi*, to make any further explanation necessary. Not always

<sup>1</sup> O. Bleich, *Herrigs Archiv*, XCVI, 69, gives an excellent *aperçu* of the collection.

<sup>2</sup> Steig, *Arnim und Grimm*, 236.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O. Bleich, *op. cit.*, XCVI, 62.

<sup>4</sup> Schiller als Dramaturg, 225.

<sup>5</sup> Die Märchen C. Brentanos, 18.

is the satirical point so clear as in the "Murmeltier," where the arch enemy of the Heidelberg group, Heinrich Voss, is pilloried, or in the "Märchen vom Hause Staarenberg," where the four ancients, von der Hagen, Docen, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, are mentioned as the only ones who know the whereabouts of the Nibelungen treasure in the Rhine. In some of the Märchen, as in "Gockel" and "Fanferlieschen Schönefüßchen," a deep ethical tone is plainly audible. Here and there, as in the naming of the sons of Schulmeister Klopstock, or the ancestresses of Radlauf, or the daughters of the Lorelei in "Staarenberg," there is a personification of natural forces resting on a deeply poetical conception.

If an influence of Gozzi is doubtful in the fanciful irony of Brentano, it is certain for E. T. A. Hoffman,<sup>1</sup> both in style and in the direct borrowing of motives. His "Goldene Topf," a creation of the author's Dresden period, he calls "ein Märchen aus der neuern Zeit," and it strikes at once the note which we have heard in Tieck's "Der blonde Eckbert" and "Runenberg," more clearly still in the later Novellen-like Märchen of *Phantasia*, "Liebeszauber" and "Die Elfen"—it seeks to introduce supernatural elements into the events of everyday life. With Tieck, however, it is a grewsome power in nature which overshadows us, and which, even in the charming story of the elves, lurks as a destructive agent in the background. Hoffman's Märchen are more cheerful; and the work of the demoniacal spirit which in its inscrutable way dominates the fates of the hero in "Der goldene Topf" and "Klein Zaches" is in the end helpful. Strikingly characteristic, and due to the author's realistic gifts, is the skilful manner in which the events are placed before the reader, so that we are never quite sure whether the author means for us to believe in a supernatural influence, or whether he is depicting merely what goes on in the diseased brain of the hero. When Anselmus, in "Der goldene Topf," is about to seize the door knocker, it changes into a grinning face—or does it? The Archivar Lindhorst transforms himself into a salamander, or is that merely

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann's works abound in references to Gozzi. In the "Seltsame Leiden eines Theaterdirectors" he translates several passages from the "Tre Melerancie" (Hoffmann's *Werke*, ed. Grisebach, IV, 93 ff.). In "Der goldene Topf," Hoffmann's most fantastic Märchen, there is abundant evidence of Gozzi's influence. Cf. Funck, *Aus dem Leben zweier Dichter*, 151; Ellinger, *E. T. A. Hoffmann*, 98 ff.



a dream vision of Anselm's fantastic poet's soul? "Das Hineinragen der unsichtbaren Welt in die sichtbare," which was so popular a canon of Romanticism, reveals itself admirably in this Märchen and in "Nussknacker und Mäusekönig," in their delicate balance on the boundary between the real and the unreal worlds. Like Brentano, Hoffmann too wrote Kindermärchen, for the children of his friend Hitzig. One of them, "Das fremde Kind," is a graceful story in the style of Tieck's "Elfen," others, like Brentano's, bear a deeper sense for adults, without forfeiting anything of their charm for children. For beneath the light, ironical style and the crowding host of fantastic events there is a serious undercurrent, the struggle of the poetic soul against the Philistine world, the undercurrent of *Sehnsucht* which is felt so strongly in Novalis' work, and which lies at the base of so many fragmentary attempts of the Romanticists.

Long before the last of Hoffmann's *capriccios* was written, the Grimms had published their collections, and had created a new Märchen style, which was to survive the Romantic era and give the tone to the Märchen writers of the future. I say created, although this statement should be qualified by recalling once more the two contributions of Otto Runge, "Vom Machandelboom" and "Vom Fischer und sine Fru," where the two stories are told in the Mecklenburg Platt, devoid of subjective elements and yet furnished with certain unconscious, naïve tricks of style, which the Grimms afterward made use of to great advantage.<sup>1</sup> This is not the place to attempt anything like a discussion of the differences between the theories of the Grimms and the other Romanticists with regard to the treatment of the Märchen, interesting as such a discussion would be in the light of the recent investigations of Steig and Hamann.<sup>2</sup> It is sufficient to recall that Jacob Grimm, in whom the philologist far outweighed the poet (with his brother the opposite was true), as early as 1808 in Arnim's *Zeitung für Einsiedler* drew a line between Kunstpoesie and Naturpoesie, as being the expression of an individual soul as against the collective poetic re-echo of deeds and events through a whole people.<sup>3</sup> Brentano's reply to this state-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Steig's very interesting discussion of the relations between the Grimms and Runge in *Herrigs Archiv*, CVII, 277 ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hamann, *Die literarischen Vorlagen der Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Berlin Diss., 1905).

<sup>3</sup> Pfaff, *Tröst Einsamkeit*, 200.



ment of faith was to retell the Bärnhäuter legend from *Simplicissimus* and Hans Sachs in his own ironical and satirical manner.<sup>1</sup> To him the old tales and legends were like a kaleidoscope, and presented with changing periods, language, and surroundings an ever changing picture; to Grimm these legends were like noble animals, which became weakened and disfigured when transported to strange surroundings. On the appearance of the first volume of Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, in 1812, the line of demarkation between these hostile views was drawn tighter. Brentano refers to Grimm's naïve, popular style, with its wealth of scholarly apparatus, as "beggarly"; to Jacob Grimm the addition of poetic details in Brentano's manner was "sinful."

While time seems to have justified the philologist against the poet, it must be admitted that Wilhelm Grimm does himself and his brother an injustice when he says in a letter to Goethe regarding their treatment of the folk-tales: "Wir haben sie so rein als möglich aufgefasst und nichts aus eignen Mitteln hinzugefügt, was sie abgerundet oder auch nur ausgeschmückt hätte."<sup>2</sup> The folk-tales as he found them were not literature, and a glance at the crude collections of "Ammen- und Feenmärchen" which existed before and contemporaneously with the Grimms convinces us that no one less than a great poet could have made them literature. One must read with a careless eye indeed not to notice the numerous tricks of style, often not at all characteristic of popular speech, which give Grimms' Märchen their peculiar color and charm—the proverbial expressions,<sup>3</sup> the diminutives, the ironical tone of many Märchen, repetitions, etc. And a skeptic might compare several of the Märchen in the first and third editions, as Hamann<sup>4</sup> had done with the "Jud' im Dorn," to note how the criticisms of Arnim were reflected in the cutting-out of the crudities of popular speech, the

<sup>1</sup> Pfaff, *op. cit.*, 217 ff.

<sup>2</sup> August 1, 1816: R. Steig, *Goethe und die Brüder Grimm*, 109.

<sup>3</sup> The tendency to wind up with a wise saw is characteristic of Basile's Neapolitan Märchen, and reminds one strongly of the moral conclusion of the animal fable. With Grimm, however, proverbs and popular turns are often woven into the narrative as an attempt to reproduce the homeliness of quaint, peasant speech. That this particular trick is sometimes overworked must occur to any reader of, for instance, the "Märchen von einem, der auszog, das Fürchten zu lernen."

<sup>4</sup> *Die literarischen Vorlagen*, 110.

removal of elements offensive to the taste, and in the growth of just that smoothness of tone which is the result of a developed poetic technique.<sup>1</sup> The objective Märchen style of the Grimms did not affect Brentano or Tieck or Hoffmann, whose creations were still fanciful and subjective.

It is clear that the Romantic Märchen is a house with many mansions. As chief subdivisions may be mentioned again the satirical Märchen dramas of Tieck, *à la Gozzi*, the same author's Novellen-like nature Märchen, with their play of mysterious, demoniacal natural forces, the profound symbolical Märchen of Novalis, the capricious, fantastic creations of Brentano and Hoffmann, and the objective, popular Märchen of the Grimms. And yet, it is no less clear that we have one common thread running through them all. It is not merely the wonderful and miraculous which is the chief characteristic, for, as we have seen, some of Tieck's nature Märchen lack a supernatural element altogether, and of a number of Grimms' the same is true, while in Novalis' Märchen the miraculous is natural and no longer appears miraculous. That the existence of an ethical allegorical basis is a characteristic must be admitted to be sure in a somewhat less general sense than that intended by Tieck in *Phantastus*, when he says that all fiction is allegory, inasmuch as it has the contrast between good and evil for its base.<sup>2</sup> Of none of the German Romantic Märchen can one say what Goethe says of the oriental Märchen: "Ihr eigentlicher Charakter ist, dass sie keinen sittlichen Zweck haben."<sup>3</sup> A good illustration of the general pedagogical tendency at the bottom of even the most objective Volksmärchen is found in the fact that Runge's Märchen "Vom Fischer und seine Frau" was reprinted separately in Berlin in 1814 and sold as an ironical biography of Napoleon.<sup>4</sup>

At the base of all of the Romantic Märchen lies the freedom of fancy which looks upon the unreal world as coexistent with the real,

<sup>1</sup> R. Steig, *A. von Arnim und J. und W. Grimm*, 262. Cf. also Steig, *Herrigs Archiv*, CVIII, 9 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Schriften*, IV, 129. Novalis frankly assigns the didactic note a place in nature poetry: "Die natürliche Poesie kann oft ohne Schaden den Schein der künstlichen, der didaktischen haben. Er muss aber nur zufällig, nur frei damit verknüpft sein. Dieser Schein der Allegorie gibt ihr dann noch einen Reiz mehr."—*Schriften*, III, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Steig, *Goethe und die Brüder Grimm*, 119.

<sup>4</sup> Savigny to W. Grimm, quoted by Steig in *Herrigs Archiv*, CX, 9.

which removes all barriers and permits us to pass from one into the other with equal ease. This freedom is the source of our pleasure in the Märchen, since for the time being it suspends the logical faculty and makes us children. The Romanticists excelled in this form, not because the logical faculty was dormant, but because through self-reflection the creative imagination was elevated to a point of sovereignty where all the bounds of the sensual world simply ceased to exist. In this subjective world, to quote from Novalis, "Die Poesie heilt die Wunden, die der Verstand schlägt."<sup>1</sup> Here in the domain of a liberated fancy the self-conscious Kunstmärchen of Novalis joins hands with the naïve reconstruction of the Volksmärchen by Runge and the Grimms, and we have an illustration of the eloquent Romantic theorem of Friedrich Schlegel that the harmony of art poetry and folk-poetry is the goal of all poetic development.

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<sup>1</sup> *Schriften*, III, 5.



## VARIATION IN THE ORTHOGRAPHY AND INFLECTION OF ENGLISH LOAN-WORDS IN GERMAN

Although English loan-words in German speech are not a new phenomenon, it is only in recent years that they have come to play an important rôle, a part quite similar to that played by French loan-words during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In spite of the laudable efforts of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein* and other similar organizations, which in their aims and propaganda recall the *Sprachgesellschaften* that flourished especially in the seventeenth century, it is at the present time considered good form in certain circles of German society, especially among the "upper ten thousand" in large cities like Berlin and Hamburg, to include in one's vocabulary a choice assortment of English terms, although in many instances a German equivalent would answer just as well. This mania is encountered in an exaggerated form in some of the modern hotels, which contain signs reading "American Bar," "Elevator," "Telephone Booths," "News Stand," "Theatre Tickets," "Barber and Manicure," "Grill Room," etc. Similarly almost every modern German novel or society drama teems with English words; in one of Sudermann's latest works of fiction, *Das hohe Lied* (1908), for example, we find (*es ist*) *settled, Farmen, unclean, at first sight, Terrier, Trip, Setter, Clownerie, Bobbi, Boy, Lady patroness, Whisky, american drinks, money-making, Tailor-made* (= tailor-made gown), *Dandies, Slang, stop, Flirt, Bars, streiken, Grillrooms, snobig, Swell, Tea-gown, Tips, Selfmademan, Pedigrees, managen*, etc. For a long list of similar words I would refer the reader to Max Meyerfeld's *Von Sprach' und Art der Deutschen und Engländer*, Berlin, 1903; and to an article by the author, "Englische Lehnwörter in der deutschen Umgangssprache," *N.Y. Staats-Zeitung*, August 18, 1907.

It is not my aim to discuss in this article the reasons for this influence or to enter in each case into the chronology of the borrowing or the question of the precise etymology; I merely wish to consider the variations in orthography and inflection that still exist owing in most instances to the recency of the borrowing. The

diversity in form is particularly noticeable in the case of substantives, which constitute the large majority of the borrowed terms and to a consideration of which I shall, with a few exceptions, confine myself here. I have selected for discussion the words found in the latest (8th) edition of Duden's *Orthographisches Wörterbuch* (1906). There is, to be sure, a long list of English terms current in German that have not yet found their way into the dictionary, but they lack all stability and their forms are legion. I have seen "shampoo" spelled in half a dozen different ways in Germany and heard it pronounced in as many. The appearance of a word in the dictionary is apt to fix its form more definitely; yet in spite of this we shall observe quite extensive variations at least recognized if not officially permitted. In the lists here given are included not only words of direct English origin, but also terms of foreign origin—Indian and East Indian, for example—that have entered the German language by way of the English, although in a few instances there may be some doubt of this. I have also included words current in French or Dutch as well as English where the exact source of the borrowing is not known.

An instance of varying usage is still found in the treatment of English *c*, chiefly initial *c*, although in the majority of cases *k* and *z*, respectively, have displaced the *c*, and it is only a question of time when the former will occupy the field to the complete exclusion of the latter, not only initially, but also medially, and in the case of *z* for *ce* also finally. As late as 1902 (Duden, 7th ed.) initial *c* was permitted in words like *Cake*, *Caucus*, *Coaks*, *Cricket* and *Croquet*, and *Cinder*; whereas today *k* and *z*, respectively, are the correct forms. Among the words which had previously adopted the *k* may be mentioned *kantern*, *Karronade*, *Klosett*, *Klub*, *Komfort*, *Kommodore*, *Konstabler*, and *Kutter*, while, on the other hand, *City*, *Clan*, *Clown*, *Cold-cream*, *Collie*, *Corned beef*, *Count*, and *Curry* retain the *c* to this day, as do *Dogcart* and *Watercloset* (beside *Wasserklosett*). Medially the change is illustrated by the word *Handikap*, which in 1902 still allowed the *c*. *Receiver* has retained the *c* to this day, while in *Boykott*, *Detektiv(e)*, *Makadam*, *Mimikry*, *Mokassin*, *Rekord*, *Self-aktor*, and *Skip*, and in *Fenz*, *Spencer*, and *Temperanz* . . . , the *c* has been displaced by *k* and *z*, respectively.

Similar fluctuation is noticeable in connection with initial *sh*, which occasionally becomes *sch*; witness *Schirting*, *schocking*, and *Schrapnell*, although on the other hand we still have *Sherry*, *Shoddy*, and *Sheriff* (but also *Scherif*). Note furthermore in this connection *Manschester*, *Scheck*, *Punsch* (= *Getränk*, beside *Punch* = *Hanswurst*), and *Anschove* and *Anschovis*, the latter being preferred to *Anchovis*, which in 1902 was the first form given. Considerable variation is also found in connection with the treatment of English initial *s* before *l* and *m*, as observed in *Schaluppe* (also *Sloop*), *Schlemm* (also *Slam*), *Schmack(e)* (preferred to *Smack*), and *Schlips*, versus *Slang*, *smart*, and *Smoking* (= Tuxedo coat), whereas initial *sp* and *st* are naturally preserved, as in *Speech* (masc., not fem.), *Spenzer*, *Spillage*, *Spleen*, *Sport*, *Spray*, *Standard*, *Start* and *starten*, *Steeplechase* and *Steepler*, *Sterling*, *Steward* and *Stewardez*, *Stockjobber*, *Stocks*, *stoppen*, *Store* (= *Warenlager*, not *Fenstervorhang*), *Streik* and *streiken*. Similarly we have *Square*, *Squatter*, and *Squire*. A strange confusion has arisen in connection with the word *Moleskin*, which is spelled with a final *s* instead of a long *s*, although the latter form is permissible; *Buckskin*, on the other hand, is written properly with a long *s*, although in 1902 the final *s*-form was still given as a variant. The mistake of course arose through the application of the rule that when two medial consonants follow one another, the last one begins the new syllable, hence *Moles-kin*.

An attempt to arrive at a closer approximation to German forms is also seen occasionally in the doubling of a single consonant or the simplification of a double consonant, as in *Aldermann* beside *Alderman*, *Schlemm-Slam*, *Schrapnell-Shrapnel* (earlier), *Top-Topp*, *Brigg*, *Bulldogg(e)*, *Dogge*, *Waggon*, and *Wasserklosett*, and *Sheriff-Scherif*. Orthographical alterations of this nature are of course usually necessitated by the German pronunciation, the agreement between orthography and pronunciation being so much closer in German than it is in English. Thus a marked tendency exists to reproduce the English sound by its German orthographical equivalent, irrespective of the English spelling. This is illustrated by words like *Antelope*, *Biest*, *Boleine*, *Daulas* (formerly *Dowlas*), *Drän* (formerly *Drain*), *Dschungeln* (pl.), *Känguruh*, *Kanu*, *Kuli*, *Lori* (formerly *Lowry*), *Mohär* (formerly *Mohair*), *Pickels* (but *Mixed Pickles* and



*Mix-pickles*), *Plunsker* beside *Plunger*, *Puddel* . . . , and *Streik*. *Jockei* has replaced *Jockey* and *chintz* becomes *Zitz*. Note also *Pick(e)nick* (neut., not masc.). *Neuorleans*, *Neuyork*, etc., are commonly used beside *New Orleans*, etc.

The first thing to be noted in connection with the nominal inflection of English loan-words in German is the fact that a considerable number of them retain the English nominal plural in *-s* (or *-es*), although the tendency is gradually to substitute German plural forms. Among words that still take a plural in *-s* (or *-es*) may be mentioned *Bar*, *Baronet*, *Barrel*, *Beefsteak*, *Bill*, *Break*, *Brigg*, *Brougham*, *Buckskin*, *Clan*, *Clown*, *Collie*, *Count*, *Davits* (pl.), *Dingo*, *Dissenter*, *Dogcart*, *Dollar*, *Drän*, *Drops* (pl.), *Flammeri*, *Foxterrier*, *Gig*, *Gin* (= *Maschine*, besonders zur *Baumwollreinigung*; also *ginnen*, *die Baumwolle reinigen*), *Grog*, *Groom*, *Handikap*, *Havelock*, *Interview*, *Jockei*, *Kake*, *Kanu*, *Klub*, *Koks* (usually pl.), *Kuli*, *Lasting*, *Lord*, *Lori* (beside *Loren* as pl. of *Lore*), *Maidenspeech* (but pl. of *Speech* = *Speeche*), *Match*, *Meeting*, *Minstrel*, *Miss*, *Mister*, *Mokassin*, *Moleskin*, *Mustang*, *Mylord*, *Natives* (pl.), *Nurse*, *Oddfellow*, *Oposum*, *Paddock*, *Palaver*, *Pedigree*, *Peer*, *Pickels* (pl.), *Plaid*, *Point-laces* (pl.), *Puzzle*, *Racket*, *Roastbeef*, *Rumpsteak*, *Sandwich*, *Schrap-nell*, *Selffaktor*, *Sheriff*, *Skrip*, *Sovereign*, *Square*, *Squatter*, *Squire*, *Steward*, *Stocks* (pl.), *Store*, *Tandem*, *Tattersall*, *Top*, *Trade-Mark*, *Tübbings* (pl.), *Turnip*, *Velvet*, *Warrant*, *Watercloset*, *Waterproof*, *Whig*, *Wigwam*, *Yankee*, *Yard*. The change is illustrated, for example, by words like *Cinder*, *Detektive*, *Rekord*, *Sarsenett*, *Schirting*, *Tomahawk*, *Trick*, and *Waggon*—which in the seventh edition required an *-s*; whereas in the eighth the plural forms are *Zinder*, *Detektive* and *-s*, *Rekords* and *-e*, *Sarsenette*, *Schirtinge* and *-s*, *Tomahake* and *-s*, *Tricke* and *-s*, *Waggons* and *-e*.

In the case of nouns ending in *-y*, two plural forms are found, one in *-ys*, which is the prevailing form, and the other in *-ies*. This applies to *Baby*, *City*, *Dandy*, *Jury*, *Lady*, *Paddy*, *Pony*, *Rowdy*, *Sherry*, *Tilbury*, *Tory*, and *Whisky*, while *Gully* and *Mylady* have only the plural in *-s*, and *Penny* has *Pence* beside the plural in *-s*. Where the ending is *-ay*, the plural in *-s* is naturally the sole one, as in *Essay*, *Spray*, and *Tramway*. *Gentleman* and *Midshipman* take the plural *-men*, while in the case of *Alderman* the form in *-men*

is preferred, although *-mans* is also used, and besides we get *Aldermänner* as the plural of *Aldermann*.

The first class of English nouns to lose their plural in *-s* were the words in *-er*, the great majority of which are now treated like strong nouns of the first declension so far as the formation of the plural is concerned, i.e., they take no ending. This rule holds for *Bar-rister*, *Boxer*, *Digger*, *Farmer*, *Flibustier*, *Interviewer*, *Knickerbocker*, *Konstabler*, *Kutter*, *Latitudinarian*, *Manschester*, *Nigger*, *Partner*, *Plunger*, *Porter*, *Puritaner*, *Receiver*, *Reporter*, *Revolver*, *Robber* (=rubber, as in whist), *Saker*, *Spencer*, *Steepler*, *Stockjobber*, *Teetotaler*, *Temperänzler*, *Tender*, *Trainer*, *Trapper*, *Trimmer*, *Zinder*, the exceptions being *Dissenter*, *Foxterrier*, *Mister*, *Palaver*, and *Squatter*, which, as we saw above, take a plural in *-s*, and several variant forms mentioned in the following paragraph.

In another group of words both German and English plural forms are used side by side, as has been seen above, the tendency being to retain only the former. Thus we have in addition to a number of double forms already mentioned *Bozen* beside *Boxes*, *Docke-Docks*, *Filme-(Films)*, *Jobber-Jobbers*, *Kommodores-Kommodoren*, *Lifte-Lifts*, *Lunche(s)*, *Pick(e)nicke-Pick(e)nicks*, *(Plum)puddinge-(Plum)puddings*, *Propeller(s)*, *Rums-Rume* (*mehrere Gläser*), *Schecke-Schecks*, *Schlemme-Schlemms*, *Sloopen-Sloops*, *Starte-Starts*, *Streike-(Streiks)*, *Verandas-Veranden*, *Wasserklosette-Wasserklosetts*. *Albatros*, *Joule*, *Kaukus*, and *Sassafras* take no ending to form the plural, while *Mumps* is used as a singular masculine substantive. *Boykott*, *Catgut*, *Fashion*, *Humbug*, *Komfort*, *Linotype*, *Mimikry*, *Mob*, *Sport*, *Standard*, *Trust*, and *Zitz* are employed only in the singular.

Among the words that have adopted the plural of the second class strong outright may be mentioned *Ballast*, *Flanell*, *Kiln*, *Mackintosh*, *Mohär*, *Punsch* (pl. *-e* and *-e*), *Report*, *Sarsenett*, *Schlips*, *Skalp*, *Speech*, *Sterling*, *Tank*, *Test*, *Toast*, *Trucksystem*, *Twist*, *Verdikt*, and *Warp*. *Import* sometimes follows this class and at other times is weak, while *Buttel* (=bottle, cf. *Robber* for rubber), *Fenz*, *Klubbist*, *Steeplechase*, and *Stewardesz* are always weak, as well as the following nouns in *-e*: *Antilope*, *Boleine*, *Bowle*, (*Bull*)*dogge*, *Gallone*, *Guinee*, *Karionade*, *Schaluppe*, and *Schmack(e)*. As we saw above

in connection with *Alderman(n)*, a variation in the form of the word is likely to affect the formation of the plural; witness furthermore *Anschoven-Anchovis* (1902), but now *Anschovis*, *Loren-Loris-Lowries* (1902), and *Mohairs* (1902)-*Mohäre*. The plural of *Biest* is *Biester*.

In the case of the genitive singular greater regularity is observed, feminine loan-words naturally taking no ending, while masculine and neuter stems add the strong *-s*, *-(e)s*, or *-es*. The following exceptions, however, may be noted: No ending or *-s* (or *-es*)—*Gentleman*, *Joule*, *Lunch*, *Mais*, *Standard*, *Tory*, *Yankee Doodle*; no ending—*Albatros*, *Corned beef*, *Kaukus*, *Lawn-Tennis*, *Misz*, *Mumps*, *Sassafras*, *Trade-Mark*. That there is a marked tendency to adopt the German genitive ending is shown by the fact that in 1902 the following words all permitted no ending or *-s* (or *-es*) in the gen. sing., whereas in the latest edition only the *-s* (or *-es*) form is permitted: *Baby*, *Curry*, *Dandy*, *Essay*, *Flammeri*, *Flirt*, *Interview*, *Kommodore*, *Mohair*, *Mokassin*, *Oddfellow*, *Opossum*, *Paddock*, *Paddy*, *Palaver*, *Peer*, *Penny*, *Poll*, *Pony*, *Propeller*, *Rowdy*, *Sherry*, *Tilbury*, *Teetotaler*, *Whisky*, and *Whist*. *Dogge* (masc.) and *Klubbist* are weak, while *Bulldogg(e)* (masc.) is sometimes strong and sometimes weak.

In connection with the gender, the chief variation is found between the masculine and the neuter, quite naturally, since the words of these genders are most closely allied in inflection. Thus we find *der* and *das Break* (officially only *der*), *Bumerang*, *Finish*, *Lift*, *Makadam*, *Match*, *Moleskin* (but notice *der Buckskin*), *Plaid*, *Pony*, *Schrapnell*, *Trick*, *Velvet*, and *Wigwam*. Other combinations are *die* and *das Interview*, *der* and *die Lias*, and *der* and *die Tramway*. In the case of *der* and *die Dogge* and *der Bulldogg(e)* beside *die Bulldogge*, the gender is of course influenced by the sex.

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## THE SONG OF DEOR

The most analytic of our writers, Edgar Allan Poe, cleverly portrays "the moral inapprehension by which the intellect suffers to pass unnoticed those considerations which are too obtrusively and palpably self-evident." Certainly in the region of philology it is often "the over-largely lettered signs and placards of the street that escape observation by dint of being excessively obvious." Yet seldom has the closely peering gaze of brow-knitted scholarship been guilty of a more astonishing oversight than in the failure of generations of Anglists to read aright a perfectly intelligible passage in the Old English *Song of Deor*. Fortunately a very few words will serve to set forth this missed meaning.

After narrating in the first two strophes of the lyric the tale of Weland's sufferings at the hands of King Nithhad and of the revenge of the elfin smith upon his tormentor, death to the king's sons and shame to his daughter, Beadohild—incidents well known to every reader of the *Völundarkviða*—the singer continues:

Wē þæt mæð Hilde mōnge gefrugnon:  
wurdon grundlæse Gēates frige,  
þæt him sēo sorglufu slæp ealne binōm.

In an interesting article in the July (1911) number of *Modern Philology* Professor W. W. Lawrence reviews the many blind explanations of these lines and reaches the conclusion that we have here a reference to the passionate love-story of Hilde and Hedin. Frankly admitting his inability to account for the application of *Gēates* to Hedin, he declares the passage to be "too brief, too corrupt, too allusive." I must differ with Dr. Lawrence, for to me the passage seems sun-clear. "Hild," about whom there has been so much pother, is obviously no other than the Beadohild<sup>1</sup> of the preceding stanza;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the identification of the enigmatic *Drýðo* (*Beowulf*, 1926 f.) with *Cyneþrýð*, and of the *Hild* of history with *Grimhild*, sister of the Nibelungen princes (Symons, *Paul's Grundriss*, III, 660). As Symons points out and as Lawrence himself recognizes in his article on *Widsið* (*Modern Philology*, IV, 354), the second member of a compound 265]

and *þæt mæð*, as the definite article indicates,<sup>1</sup> clearly refers to her violation by Weland, of which the poet has just spoken. About the word *Gēates* there is not the least mystery. It is most aptly applied to Nithhad, a king in South Sweden, whose country of the Niars (see *Völundarkviða*) is identified as the modern district of Nerike—thus a near neighbor of Beowulf and bearing the same tribal name.<sup>2</sup> *Frīge*, “the bottomless affection,” and *sorglufu*, “the sorrowing love that robbed him of all sleep,” well portray Nithhad’s grief at the loss of his sons. Any doubt of this explanation is immediately dispelled by the striking parallel in the *Völundarkviða* (§ 29):<sup>3</sup>

Nífufr kvaþ:  
Vake ek ofvalt  
of viljalauss.  
sofna ek minst  
síð sono dauða.

name sometimes does duty for the whole in Germanic poetry, as *Hild* for *Brynhild* (*Helreið Brynhildar*, 5; *Skíðskaparmál*, chap. 41) and *Bera* for *Kostbera* (*Atlampi en Groenlensku*, 33). Searle in his *Onomasticon* (p. xix) has noted the use of diminished forms of dithematic names, *Leoba* for *Leobgitha*, *Cutha* for *Cuthwulf* or *Cuthwine*, *Totta* for *Torhthelm*, *Hitta* for *Hildeburga*; so also the familiar *Bugge* for *Heaburg*. In my note to Dr. Gerould’s article (*M.L.N.*, May, 1911) I remarked that “we often have in such cases the Latin synonym of only one member of a compound name: *Lupus* for *Wulfstan* and *Boniface*’s *Caritas* for *Leobgyth*.” Mark too Bishop Cuthbert of Hereford’s (A.D. 736) play upon the second syllable of his name, *berht* (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, p. 299): “*Quique gero certum Cudbert de luce vocamen*.” So in employing *Hild* for *Beadohild*, as his meter compelled, our singer adopted a form of abbreviation very common not only in heroic verse but in the everyday use of his age and country.

<sup>1</sup> Barnouw has abundantly illustrated (*Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 9) the use of the article to indicate a person or thing already mentioned in the course of the narrative. Thus *sœo sorglufu* is equated with *frige*.

<sup>2</sup> Convincing evidence that the *Gēatas* of the *Beowulf* are the Swedish *Gautar* of Götaland is offered by Sarrazin, *Beowulf Studien*, 1888, pp. 23 f., and by ten Brink, *Beowulf, Untersuchungen*, 1888, pp. 196 f. Our present passage gives strong support to this view, which has found large acceptance. Hans Hildebrand, *Das Heidnische Zeitalter in Schweden*, 1873, p. 156, proves by the testimony of the older *Westgötalag* (Diebsbalk, 12, 2) that Nerike was originally reckoned a part of Götaland. A king of the Nerike district would very properly be called a *Gaut* or *Gēat*, even if we limit this tribal name more narrowly than is necessary in interpreting heroic verse. May I hazard the conjecture that the hitherto unexplained *be Wurman* (*Deor*, 1) constitutes a local reference (as indeed Grimm and Kemble surmised) and designates the South Swedish district of Wermaland, which plays its part in the Old Norse sagas (cf. *Egilssaga*, chap. 74) and which is often associated in the *Heimskringla* with the neighboring Nerike and West Götaland (*Saga of Olaf the Saint*, chaps. 76, 191)? Such blendings of adjoining places and tribes is frequent in the older poetry, as may be marked in the interchange of Angles and Myrgings in the *Widsith*; and localization in the first line of the *Deor* seems quite in keeping with our poet’s love of definite backgrounds (ll. 15, 19, 23, 36).

<sup>3</sup> Jónsson, *Eddalieder*, I (1888), 85.

(Nithhad said: "I am continually awake, robbed of joys; I sleep not at all since the death of my sons.")<sup>1</sup>

Thus the poet of the *Deor* recounts in his first three stanzas the story of Weland and his foes. He then turns naturally enough to the mighty figure of Theodoric (Dietrich of Bern) whose saga elsewhere in Old English (*Waldere* B. 4-10) claims as its own the son of Weland and Beadohild.

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<sup>1</sup> The student of origins should not overlook the great historical significance of this resemblance between the *Deor* version of the Weland story and that in the *Edda*—a resemblance so close that it extends to identity of names and places and even of minute details. Even those who doubt the Nerike identification cannot cavil at the application of *Gēat* to a *konungr* & *Svidfiðr*. In the later version of the saga (*Thidreksasaga*, chaps. 57-79) Nithhad's (Nidung's) kingdom is transferred from the Swedish land of the Gauts or Gēats (Götaland) to the Danish land of the Jutes (Jutland). This change of locality is probably due to a confusion of very similar tribal names, as in the use of "Gēats" for "Jutes" in the well-known passage of the Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 15, and of *Gottland* for *Jótland* in the *Skáldekaparmál*, chap. 43.





### THEOBALD'S *DOUBLE FALSEHOOD*?

The article of Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., in *MLN* for February 1910, on the "History of Cardenio by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare," prompts me to publish the following material, gathered some time ago, in the hope that it may serve to clear up at least a part of the mystery connected with the authorship of the play *Double Falsehood* or *the Distrest Lovers*. This play, first acted<sup>1</sup> on December 13, 1727, was first "printed<sup>2</sup> by John Watts, at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields," London, 1728. From the same press, "printed for John Watts," etc., was issued in the following year, 1729, a work entitled: "*A Select Collection of Novels and Histories*, in six volumes; written by the most celebrated Authors in several Languages. Many of which never appear'd in English before. All *New* translated from the Originals, by several eminent Hands. Second edition," etc. The editor was Samuel Croxall (the dedication is signed S. C.), who tells us in a preface that the favorable reception given to the first edition of this work (1720-22) has encouraged the publisher to reprint it with additions and improvements. One of the additional pieces is entitled: *The Adventures on the Black Mountains*, Vol. I, pp. 313-44, and the publisher adds, "This is the Novel, from which the Plan of a Posthumous Play, written originally by Shakespear, called *Double Falsehood*, was taken." The preface, however, while it praises Cervantes as a writer of novels, says nothing about his being the original author of this particular tale, although Theobald, in his preface to the play *Double Falsehood*, had stated that the plot was taken from *Don Quixote*. Was the assertion of Croxall intended to support Theobald's claim that Shakespeare was the author of the play? It seems so at first sight; yet his connection with the publication of the play, if there was any, will

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, I, p. 160; Lounsbury, *The Text of Shakespeare*, New York, 1906, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> "*Double Falsehood* or *The Distrest Lovers*, etc., written originally by W. Shakespeare, and now revised and adapted to the Stage by Mr. Theobald, the Author of Shakespeare Restor'd. London, Printed by J. Watts, at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. MDCCXXVIII." Professor Lounsbury says, p. 299, that the play had been published late in December, 1727.

probably never be known. But if *Double Falsehood* and *The Adventures on the Black Mountains*, issued from the same press, are related, our first task is to state what may be known of the novel.

As far as I have been able to discover, the edition of 1729 is the first of that novel in the peculiar form of *The Adventures*, etc. It is, of course, possible, that an earlier print was recorded in some misleading manner in the Stationers' Registers; or there may be a copy concealed in the British Museum library, but I have not found any trace of it. We can therefore assume, until an earlier edition is discovered, that Croxall printed the story from a version "new translated," which meant, to judge from other novels in his collection as well as from this one, that *The Adventures* had been merely rearranged and rejuvenated to suit his purpose. For, far from being "new translated," the novel is taken from Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*, but revamped and adapted to the language and taste of the whole collection. It becomes necessary to inquire at this point, first, whether this rearrangement was made specifically for Croxall, or whether he merely reprinted an old copy or edition; second, is it possible to say definitely that the play was taken from *The Adventures*, as printed by Croxall, and not from the romance of Cardenio and Luscinda as it is told in Shelton's *Don Quixote*, beginning with the third book, chap. xi, and continuing with interruptions through the fourth book, chap. ix.<sup>1</sup> The results of this inquiry will be based entirely on an examination of Shelton's *Don Quixote*, Croxall's *The Adventures*, etc., and *Double Falsehood*.

In Shelton's translation, which agrees with the Spanish original, the course of the story is frequently interrupted by the characters of *Don Quixote*, namely Don Quixote himself, Sancho Panza, the curate, the barber, and others. But Croxall's novel, in gathering all these parts together, changes the order of events as found in Shelton, shortens the whole to about two-thirds of its original length by giving a résumé of rambling portions, and, naturally, turns every first person into the third. Croxall's version may be said to relate the events in a more natural sequence, avoiding the repetition of details;

<sup>1</sup> All my references will be to *The History of the Valorous and Witty Knight Errant Don Quixote of the Mancha*, by Miguel de Cervantes, translated by Thomas Shelton, 3 vols., Macmillan & Co., 1900, as this edition is more accessible; but I have given the spelling of the edition of 1612 in the excerpts.

in Shelton, the interruptions necessitated a going back to pick up the thread of the story, which, if followed through *Don Quixote* according to the order of events in *The Adventures*, would take us through the various chapters in about the following order: book third, chap. x, book fourth, chap. i, book third, chaps. x, xiii, ix, xiii, book fourth, chaps. i, ix, book third, chap. xiii, book fourth, chaps. i, ix. A few additional transfers may be found in ideas, descriptions, and the like, of little importance.

For lack of space, the following examples will have to suffice to prove how *The Adventures on the Black Mountains* were "new translated" out of Shelton. First I shall give some examples to show how Shelton was plundered with but very few changes, which could have been made only with the object of rejuvenating his Elizabethan style; they will help, moreover, in determining whether the rearrangement was specifically made for Croxall, or not.

## SHELTON'S TRANSLATION

1. "I rendred him thanks . . . and therefore departed presently to acquaint him (my father) with my desires: who, at the time which I entered into a Chamber wherein he was, stood with a Letter open in his hand; and espying me, e're I could breake my mind vnto him, gaue it me, saying, 'By that Letter, *Cardenio*, you may gather the desire that Duke *Ricardo* beares, to doe you any pleasure or fauour.'

"This Duke *Ricardo*, as I thinke you know, *Sirs*, already, is a *Grande* of Spayne, whose Dukedome is seated in the best part of all *Andaluzia*. I tooke the Letter and read it; which appeared so vrgent, as I myselfe accounted it would be ill done, if my father did not accomplish the contents thereof, which were indeed, that he should presently addresse me to his Court, to the end I might be companion (and not seruant) to his eldest sonne; and that he would incharge himselfe with the aduancing of me to such preferments as might be answerable vnto the value and estima-

## CROXALL'S NOVEL

1. "As *Cardenio* entered his Father's Chamber, he found him with a Letter open in his Hand; who espying his Son, ere he could break his Mind to him, gave it him with these Words, *By that Letter, Cardenio, you may gather the Desire that Duke Ricardo bears to do you Favour.* This Duke was a *Grandee* of the first Rank in *Spain*, and whose Dukedom was seated in the best part of all *Andaluzia*. *Cardenio* read the Letter, which was a pressing Mandate for his instantly addressing himself to Court, in Order to become the Companion of the Duke's eldest Son; and the Duke, on his Part, charg'd himself with advancing *Cardenio* to Preferments, answerable to the Value and Esteem he had for his Person: The enamour'd *Cardenio* imbarass'd with such a Summons, was struck dumb at the Contents of the Letter; but was still more confounded what to do, upon his Father's acquainting him, that he must depart within two Days to attend the Duke's Com-

[SHELTON]

tion he made of my person. I past ouer the whole Letter, and was stricken dumbe at the reading thereof, but chiefly hearing my father to say, '*Cardenio*, thou must depart within two dayes, to accomplish the Dukees desire; and omit not to render Almighty God thanks, which doth thus open the way by which thou mayest attaine in fine to that which I know thou dost merite.' And to these words added certaine others of fatherly counsell and direction. The terme of my departure arriued, and I spoke to my *Luscinda* on a certaine night, and recounted vnto her all that passed, and likewise to her father, entreating him to ouerslip a few dayes, and deferre the bestowing of his daughter else-where, vntill I went to understand Duke *Ricardo* his will; which he promised me, and she confirmed it with a thousand othes and promises." (Book 3, chap. x.)

2. "It therefore befell that, as there is no secrecie amongst friends so great but they will communicate it the one to the other, and the familiaritie which I had with *Don Ferdinando* was now past the limits of fauour, and turned into dearest amitie, he reuealed vnto me all his thoughts, but chiefly one of of his loue, which did not a little molest him; for he was enamoured on a Farmers daughter, that was his Fathers vassall" (Book 3, chap. x; jumps to Book 4, chap. i). Dorothea speaks: "My parents . . . are but Farmours and plaine people, but without any touch or spot of bad bloud, and as we vsually say, Old, rustie Christians, yet so rusty and ancient as yet their riches and magnificent port gaine them, by little and little, the title of Gentilitie, yea, and of worship also; although the treasure and Nobility, whereof they made most price

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mands. This unforeseen Incident made *Cardenio* think it an improper Opportunity to break the Secret of his Passion to his Father. The Term of his Departure came faster than he could have wish'd: and all that he could do under the present Circumstance, was to recount the Truth of Affairs to *Luscinda's* Father, entreat him to overslip a few Days, and to defer the bestowing of his Daughter elsewhere, till *Cardenio* understood Duke *Ricardo's* Pleasure. Her Father readily comply'd, and pass'd his Promise to performance of the Terms: and *Luscinda* confirm'd her Fidelity to *Cardenio* with a thousand endearing Protestations." (P. 315.)

2. "As Intimacy gradually contracts Trust and Confidence, there is no Secresie amongst Friends so great, but They will communicate it the One to the Other. The Familiarity, which *Cardenio* had with *Don Ferdinand*, was now past the Limits of Favour, and turned into dearest Amity. The young Lord reveal'd to him all his Thoughts, but chiefly one of his Love which did not a little molest him. *Don Ferdinand*, it happen'd, was become enamour'd of a Farmer's Daughter, that was his Father's Vassal. Her Parents were plain People by their Profession, but without any Touch or Stain of bad Blood: so their Riches and Port gain'd them, by little and little, the Title of Gentility, and the Dues of Worship. Their greatest Treasure, and their best Nobility, in their own Opinion, was their having such a Daughter as *Dorothea*," etc. (P. 316.)

[SHELTON]

and account, was to have had mee for their daughter," etc.

3. "But on the fourth day after I had arriued, there came a man in my search with a Letter, which he deliuered vnto me, and by the indorsement I knew it to be *Luscinda's*; for the hand was like hers. I opened it (not without feare and assaylement of my senses), knowing that it must haue beene some serious occasion which could moue her to write vnto me, being absent, seeing shee did it so rarely, euen when I was present. I demaunded of the Bearer, before I read, who had deliuered it to him, and what time he had spent in the way. He answered me, 'that passing by chance at mid-day thorow a Streete of the Citie, a very beautifull Ladie did call him from a certain Window. Her eyes were all be-blubbered with teares, and said vnto him very hastily, "Brother, if thou beest a Christian, as thou appearest to be one, I pray thee for Gods sake, that thou doe forthwith addresse this Letter to the place and person that the superscription assigneth (for they be well knowne), and therein thou shalt doe our Lord great seruice; and because thou maist not want meanes to doe it, take what thou shalt find wrapped in that Hand-kerchiefe." And, saying so, she threw out of the Window a Hand-kerchiefe, wherein were lapped vp a hundred Rials, this Ring of Gold which I carrie here, and that Letter which I deliuered vnto you; and presently, without expecting mine answer, shee departed, but first saw me take vp the Hand-kerchiefe and Letter, and then I made her signes that I would accomplish herein her command. And after, perceyuing the paines I might take in bringing you it, so wel considered, and seeing by the

[CROXALL]

3. "The fourth Day of his Court-Attendance was now running its Course, when a Messenger arrives Post in Search of him with a Letter, the Superscription of which he knew to be the Hand-writing of *Luscinda*. He took it from the Bearer with a Fear, that almost overpower'd his Senses: He knew it must be some serious and uncommon Occasion, that could excite her to write to him at that Juncture, and address her Letter by that extraordinary Conveyance. Before *Cardenio* would venture to peruse the *Billet*, he demanded of the Bearer, Who had deliver'd it to him? He replied, that passing by Chance at Mid-day through a Street of their Village, a beautiful young Lady had call'd to him from a Window, that her Eyes were gushing with Tears, and that she had conjur'd him, as he appear'd to be a Christian, and as her Request was in the Cause of Goodness and Religion, that he would with the utmost Speed convey that Paper for her to the Place and Person, to which the Superscription assigned; and that with it she had thrown him down a Ring of Gold, and *Purse of Rials*, to purchase his Diligence in the Business. *Cardenio*, pale and trembling at this Information, thank'd the Messenger, and beg'd he would reconvey an Answer from him; after which *Cardenio* withdrew, that his Emotions might not be observable, and read the following afflicting Letter.

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indorsement, that you were the man to whom it was addrest—for, sir, I know you very wel,—and also obliged to doe it by the teares of that beautifull Ladie, I determined not to trust any other with it, but to come and bring it you my selfe in person; and in sixteene houres since it was giuen vnto me, I haue trauelled the iourney you know, which is at least eighteene leagues long.' Whilst the thankfull new messenger spake thus vnto me, I remayned in a manner hanging on his words, and my thighs did tremble in such manner, as I could very hardly sustayne my selfe on foot; yet taking courage, at last I opened the Letter, whereof these were the Contents:

"The word that Don Ferdinando hath past vnto you to speake to your father, that he might speake to mine, he hath accomplished more to his owne pleasure then to your profit. For, sir, you shall vnderstand that he hath demanded me for his wife; and my father (borne away by the aduantage of worths which he supposes to bee in Don Ferdinando more than in you) hath agreed to his demaund in so good earnest, as the espousals shall be celebrated within these two daies, and that so secretly and alone, as only the heauens and some folke of the house shall be witnesses. How I remaine, imagine, and whether it be conuenient you should returne, you may consider; and the successe of this affaire shall let you to perceiue whether I loue you well or no. I beseech Almighty God that this may arriue vnto your hands before mine shall see itselfe in danger to ioyn it selfe with his, which keepeth his promised faith so ill," etc. (Book 3, chap. xiii.)

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"The promise that false *Ferdinand* has pass'd to you to speak to your Father, that he might speak to mine, he has accomplish'd more to his own Pleasure, than your Satisfaction; for you shall understand, dearest *Cardenio*, that he has demanded me for his Wife. My Father, borne away by certain Differences of Fortune, which he thinks the weightier in *Don Ferdinand's* Scale, has agreed to his Demand. The Nuptials are to be celebrated within these two Days; and that so secretly, as only the Heavens, and some Particulars of our House, are to be the Witnesses. How I remain, imagine, by what you yourself feel; and whether it be convenient you should return, you only can determine. The Success of this Affair, in all Events, shall let you perceive, whether I love you. May this reach your Hand, before mine shall be in Danger to be given away to the most perfidious of Men! As yet, I am your most disconsolate,

LUSCINDA."  
(Pp. 326-27.)

Episodes which are interrupted in the original English version are joined in a way that may be illustrated by the following: Dorothea has completed her story and we go back to find out what became of Luscinda:

4. To such Afflictions of Heart, from a State of Ease and Tranquility, and to such personal Dangers and Exigencies, from being the Care and Darling of her indulgent Parents, did the wanton Passion of *Don Ferdinand* reduce the credulous, deceived *Dorothea*. Nor did the like Intemperance of his Love cost the charming *Luscinda* much less Anxiety. He would, indeed, have married her, etc. (P. 336.)

If space permitted, a complete list of the changes of style made in Shelton for the edition of Croxall might be given at this point to help in approximately establishing the age of *The Adventures*. As it is, the examples given above may serve to indicate the manner in which the "translator" seems to have tried to bring the Elizabethan English of Shelton somewhat up to date by changing the forms which at the time of the "translation" were most apparently obsolete. It was but natural that in the cheap process to which the language of Shelton was subjected, much of its old character should have remained.

However, where the "translator" displays his talent independently, much sentimental rubbish may generally be found, and the changes made in Shelton are certainly not improvements in style. But in spite of all these defects, the novel is singularly in keeping with the taste of the age, if we are to judge by "the favorable reception" given to Croxall's collection of novels. We are, therefore, forced to conclude that *The Adventures on the Black Mountains* was especially arranged for Croxall by some unknown "eminent hand," and that it is not likely, both from the fact that this is the first known edition of this particular tale, as well as from its revamped character, that he was merely reprinting an old manuscript. If the latter were the case, we should have the extraordinary coincidence of a play and the tale upon which it is founded surviving in manuscript, only to be printed independently, within a year of each other, by the same printer!

A few of the arbitrary changes made in the plot or situations must be mentioned, because some of them have a direct bearing upon the play which is to be considered presently.



## SHELTON

1. *Dorothea*: "For, one night as I sate in my chamber, only attended by a yong Mayden that serued me, I hauing shut the doores very safe," etc. (Vol. I, p. 260.)

2. Shelton tells the story of Don Ferdinando's and *Luscinda's* interrupted marriage ceremony very simply, and gives nothing but *Don Quixote*. Croxall makes a more melodramatic scene out of it, by adding a description not a word of which is in Shelton. (Vol. I, pp. 245 ff.)

3. *Dorothea* has stolen away from home: "And whilst I staide thus in the Citie, ignorant of what I might doe, . . . I heard a cryer goe about publicly, promising great rewards to any one that could finde me out, giuing signes of the very age and apparell I wore," etc. (Vol. I, p. 268.)

4. In Shelton, the curate and the barber are waiting for Sancho Panza: "Both, therefore, arresting there quietly vnder the shadow, there arriued to their hearing the sound of a voyce which, *without being accompanied by any instrument*, did resound so sweet and melodiously as they remained greatly admired, because they esteemed not that to be a place wherein any so good a Musician might make his abode," etc. The person discovered is *Cardenio*, who, it says, "at this season was in his right sense," etc. (Vol. I, p. 236.)

## CROXALL

1. "One Night, when this innocent young Beauty was retir'd to her Chamber, and had dismiss'd her Attendant to taste the Pleasures of Solitude," etc. (P. 318.)

2. Now blazed the Hall with Lights, a little Altar with Tapers was brought forth, close to which follow'd a reverend Priest. Mean-while *Cardenio* stood sweating with Agony; *Luscinda* wrung her Hands, and with streaming Eyes, and distracted Motions, shew'd her Aversion to the Marriage. *Don Ferdinand* was now soothing her with Courtly Gestures; and her Father urging her with Menaces to yield Obedience to his Will." (P. 329.)

3. "All the Night, she and her Attendant Swain travell'd on by the obscure Light of a clouded Moon. Early the next Morning, as she was afterwards acquainted, a Cryer went about publicly, by her Father's Order, describing her Age, Form, and Apparel, and offering great Rewards to any One that should bring her Home," etc. (P. 334.)

4. Croxall has:

"At a Season when *Cardenio* was in his right Sense, and surrounded by these willing Comforters, they heard from the inner Parts of the Rocks, the Sound of a sweet Voice, *accompanied with the Melody of a Lute*. This might well prove the Subject of Attention and Wonder, as they esteem'd not that to be a Place, wherein 'twas probable so good a Musician should make his Abode." But here it is *Dorothea* who is discovered singing and playing upon a lute. They find "the Contents of the Air to be a Virgin's Complaint for Love betray'd, and broken Friendship." (P. 338.)

Other examples could be added, notably from such passages as were penned by the hack "translator" when he was retelling or condensing parts of the original.

Let us now try to determine, if possible, why the play *Double Falsehood* was taken from *The Adventures*, etc., as printed by Croxall, and not from the romance of Cardenio and Luscinda, as it is told in Shelton's *Don Quixote*. I may add here, that the Spanish original does not enter into the question, because I have found no evidence whatsoever which would connect either *The Adventures* or *Double Falsehood* with the work of Cervantes. Moreover, Theobald, in giving the source of the play, seems to refer to Shelton's *Don Quixote*; for he asserts that *Don Quixote* "was published in the year 1611," a date much closer to the appearance of Shelton's first part, 1612, than that of the Spanish original, which was printed in 1605.

Let us begin with the *dramatis personae*, as they are printed at the head of the play, placing at their side the corresponding characters of *The Adventures*.

| DOUBLE FALSEHOOD                           | THE ADVENTURES, ETC.  |
|--|---|
| <i>Men:</i>                                | <i>Men:</i>   |
| Duke Angelo                                | Duke Ricardo  |
| Roderick, his Elder Son                    | Eldest Son  |
| Henriquez, his Younger Son                 | Ferdinand, second son   |
| Don Bernard, Father to Leonora             | Father of Luscinda  |
| Camillo, Father to Julio                   | Cleonardo, Father of Cardenio   |
| Julio, in Love with Leonora                | Cardenio  |
| Citizen                                    | Messenger   |
| Master of the Flocks                       | Master of the Flocks  |
| First Shepherd }                           | Shepherds   |
| Second Shepherd }                          |   |
| <i>Women:</i>                              | <i>Women:</i>   |
| Leonora                                    | Luscinda  |
| Violante                                   | Dorothea  |
| Scene, the Province of Andalusia in Spain. | Scene, the Province of Andalusia (a Province the richest in all Spain). |

In giving the scene of the story at the outset, Shelton merely says, "the place of my birth is one of the best cities in Andalusia," Vol. I, p. 198. *The Adventures*, etc., begins: "To a delightful Village near Seville, in the Province of Andalusia (a Province the richest in all Spain etc. was good Cleonardo retired)."

As regards the number of characters who form a part of the novel, it will be seen that it corresponds absolutely with that of the play, while those personages, such as attendants, servants, and the like, too insignificant to be mentioned in the play's list of *dramatis personae*, occupy the same unimportant place in the thread of the story. It would seem, therefore, that such a close correspondence of actors would have been impossible if the play had been taken directly from Shelton's *Don Quixote*; there the course of the story is somewhat different: it is broken and the intervals are filled with a confusing array of outside characters, such as Don Quixote, Sancho, the barber, the curate, and others who furnish numerous irrelevant episodes. Yet even more noteworthy is the fact that the plot of the novel, shorn of all those extraneous and interrupting elements in *Don Quixote*, should present an excellent parallel to the play also; this cannot be a mere coincidence.

The construction of the play shows practically no originality whatsoever; the main additions made in it, namely, the breaking into the marriage ceremony by Julio, and the meeting of the fathers of the young people, were suggested by the novel itself, and made necessary by the paucity of episodes. The climax of the play, upon which Mr. Bradford bestows especial praise, is developed out of the close of the novel, in which all are reconciled at the inn where they have met. The particular introduction of the fathers at this place does not indicate remarkable constructive powers, for the novel tells us that everybody is looking for someone, Cardenio for Luscinda, Dorothea for Ferdinand, the fathers for their children; and the inn, therefore, became the most natural place where all was to be forgiven and everyone was to be happy once more.

In giving the order of scenes in the play, what follows is intended to emphasize, first, the fact of a similar sequence of events in the novel, and, second, the direct imitation by the play of features which do not exist in Shelton and which the author of *Double Falsehood* could have taken only from Croxall's version.

Act I, scene 1, Duke Angelo and his son Roderick speak of the absent Henriquez, the father telling his son to "bring Julio to Court." This very short scene is followed by one in a village at the house of Camillo, who appears with a letter ordering Julio to Court. The

latter enters, and after reading the mandate expresses in an aside his regret at leaving Leonora. He had intended to tell his father of his suit, but now defers it: "No moving of my Love-Suit to him now?" (p. 4). Of this there is nothing in Shelton, I, p. 200, but Croxall has: "This unforeseen Incident made *Cardenio* think it an improper Opportunity to break the Secret of his Passion to his Father" (p. 315). Leonora and her maid now enter; Julio bids the former farewell with the words: "Duke, I obey thy Summons" (p. 6), the latter word being used only in the novel of Croxall. This scene gives at length the "thousand endearing Protestations" of the novel (p. 316). Bernard, Leonora's father, enters, to whom Julio promises that he will speak to his father, Camillo, of his love. In the third scene Henriquez and some servants with lights are found under Violante's window. She appears and reproaches him for his unworthy suit. "Henr.: 'Why, this Dismission Does more invite my Staying'" (p. 12), which is expressed in the novel (p. 318): "All these Cautions on her Side but more inflamed the amorous Appetite on his." This act corresponds throughout with pp. 313-18 of the novel, which tells of Cardenio's love for Luscinda, the arrival of the letter ordering him to Court, his departure, his arrival at the Duke's palace, and the love of Ferdinand for Dorothea.

The latter is the subject of Act II, scene 1: a village; Henriquez comes from Violante's room, having possessed her by means of a promise of marriage. His monologue is overheard by some citizens who do not speak to him, and whose presence is gratuitous, since it leads to nothing. We learn that Henriquez has already transferred his affection to Leonora, though it is hard to see when he had time to meet her. Some time has elapsed before the next scene, in which we find Violante bewailing her fall. Henriquez sends her a letter: "Our Prudence should now teach us to forget" (p. 16). In scene 3, his courtship of Leonora is continued. Leonora's father gladly admits the suit of Henriquez and tries to force her to accept him: she must marry him in two days. Then follows a short scene between Bernard and Camillo, the fathers of Leonora and Julio; the former says his daughter is not for Julio, and they part quarreling. Leonora now appears at the window; a citizen enters to whom she throws a purse with money, saying: "I conjure you, Convey this Paper to

him, and believe me, you do Heav'n Service in't," etc. (p. 24). This episode imitates the novel more closely than Shelton, as can be seen from the third example (p. 5), quoted above. The act corresponds with pp. 319-27 of the novel, which proceeds with Dorothea's fall, and returning to Cardenio's love for Luscinda tells of Ferdinand's disloyalty to his friend and his sudden infatuation for Luscinda, of Cardenio's absence, Luscinda's anguish, and her message to him.

Act III, scene 1, continues the episode and presents Julio, who receives Leonora's letter. He curses the treachery of Henriquez and decides on an "exchange of Habit" (p. 26) with the citizen, so as to be able to enter her house unrecognized. Of this disguise there is nothing in Shelton, Vol. I, p. 244. But Croxall adds: "Disguising himself for Fear of *Don Ferdinand's* spies, he secretly approached the House of *Luscinda*" (p. 328). The next scene discloses Leonora at home; Julio enters, and she tells him: "what my Letter hath declared . . . is this Instant on th' effecting" (p. 28). In Croxall she begins: "the disastrous Moment is at Hand" (p. 328), of which there is nothing in Shelton. She conceals Julio behind the arras and the marriage ceremony follows. "Scene opens to a large Hall: an Altar prepared with Tapers. Enter at one Door Servants with Lights, Henriquez, Don Bernard and Churchman. At another, Attendants to Leonora" (p. 29). Leonora remonstrates with Henriquez and her father. This is mostly from Croxall, namely the altar with tapers, while the girl's remonstrance, the father's threats, and the like were suggested by the novel, as can be seen from the second example above (p. 8), of arbitrary changes made in Shelton. Then follows Julio's interruption, which is original with the play but may have been suggested by the novel: "Her Refusal had been a Cue for his rushing out to her Assistance; but now he remained confounded," etc. (p. 329). Julio is ejected and Leonora swoons. "Henr.: 'Bear her to her Chamber: Life flows in her again. Pray bear her hence: And tend her as you would the World's best Treasure. Don Bernard, this wild Tumult soon will cease, the Cause remov'd, and all return to Calmness. . . . Let the Priest wait: Come, go we in," etc. (p. 32). In Croxall we are told: "the intended Bride, languishing and half recover'd, was ordered into another Room, and the Priest directed by Ferdinand to wait, till Matters were better settled"

(p. 330); and "by reason of the Strength of her Fits [she] *was convey'd to her Chamber*" (p. 337), of which there is nothing in Shelton, Vol. I, p. 248 or p. 266. In the following scene Roderick appears, still troubled about his brother and "Julio's departure thus in Secret" (p. 32). Camillo enters and accuses him of complicity and then the same citizen who brought Leonora's letter announces Julio's flight. Bernardo comes in, and another quarrel ends with the reconciliation of the fathers. Violante now enters and learns, as in the novel, that the marriage was prevented. Her servant says: "Your Father makes mighty Offers yonder by a Cryer, to any One can bring you home again" (p. 37). How much nearer this is to Croxall than Shelton, may be seen from the third example above (p. 8) of the arbitrary changes made by the novel. Violante now decides to wear a shepherd's habit. This act corresponds with pp. 327-30 of the novel, the last short scene being taken from p. 334. The story continues with Cardenio's return to Luscinda, their meeting, the interrupted marriage ceremony, and the flight of Cardenio. The reconciliation of the fathers in the play is original, but was a necessary and rather obvious bit of padding in an otherwise extremely uneventful plot.

Act IV, scene 1, presents a wide plain with a prospect of mountains. Shepherds with the Master of the flock, and Violante in boy's clothes appear. Julio's madness is described. He enters and gives a demonstration of his state. Violante is recognized as a woman and assaulted by the Master. Roderick enters, looking for Henriquez, and the latter appears, in search of Leonora, who has fled to a convent. They go together to find her. In the next scene Julio and two gentlemen enter. One of the latter says: "He's calm again: I'll take this Interval to work upon Him. These wild and solitary Places, Sir, but feed your Pain; let better Reason guide you; And quit this forlorn State, that yields no Comfort." "(Lute sounds within.) Julio: 'Ha! hark, a Sound from Heaven! . . . I'm often visited with these sweet Airs, The Spirit of some hapless Man that dy'd, And left his Love hid in a faithless Woman, Sure haunts these Mountains.' (Violante sings)" (p. 47). The subject of her song is the "sorrow of a lost maid," and of a false swain who has betrayed her. That this is taken directly from the novel will be seen by comparing

Shelton and Croxall in the fourth example above (p. 8) of arbitrary changes made in the former. Then follows the effect of Violante's song on Julio, a sorrowful monologue by the forsaken girl, the meeting of Julio and Violante, after which he vows that he will not forsake her until her wrong has been atoned for by Henriquez. This act corresponds with the novel as follows: the first part of scene 1 is a fusion of different suggestions taken from pp. 330-36, the rest, and scene 2, being from pp. 336-41 of the novel. After the flight of Cardenio from the marriage ceremony, his life in the mountains and among the shepherds is depicted. Then Dorothea's plight is shown, her decision to leave her home to find Ferdinand, her experiences with her attendant, and with the Master of the flock when they discover that she is a woman, and her retreat to the wilds of the mountains. Then the narrative returns to Luscinda's escape to a convent and the pursuit by Ferdinand. Thereafter it continues the story of Dorothea and her meeting in the mountains with Cardenio.

Act V has two scenes, one a prospect of the mountains, the other an apartment in the Lodge. The fathers, in search of the children, here meet. All enter in succession, Roderick, Leonora and Henriquez, then Violante who accuses Henriquez, finally Julio, and a general reconciliation follows. This act is developed out of pp. 341-44 of the novel: Cardenio and Dorothea are "to suffer themselves to be conducted to an Inn." Luscinda, "snatched from the Convent," is brought there by Ferdinand, and after explanations, mutual forgiveness, and a reconciliation, all ends in a "sumptuous Entertainment."

If it has been possible to show that the novel entitled *The Adventures on the Black Mountains* is nothing more than Shelton furbished up for Croxall's collection at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and if it can be asserted that *Double Falsehood* is a slavish dramatization of the novel, it has become unnecessary to insist that there is not the remotest probability that Theobald had a lost "History of Cardenio" either by Shakespeare or Fletcher as a basis for his play *Double Falsehood*. The names of the cast must have been conceived with the original construction, for it seems incredible that Theobald should have rewritten a play in verse to the extent of putting *Julio* for *Cardenio*, and the like, in every verse in which one of the many



names occurs. And what reason could he have had for changing the names? It is impossible to discover one. He does not seem to have been acquainted with that hazy and ill-founded tradition which attributes a "History of Cardenio" to Shakespeare and Fletcher, or he would have left the names of the original story. He may have heard that there was once a play taken from this episode in *Don Quixote*, and so was impelled to try his hand at one, attributing it to the writer he knew better than did any of his contemporary critics.

The story of the origin and character of the manuscripts of *Double Falsehood* is unconvincing from beginning to end. Theobald tells us in his Preface:

It has been alleg'd as incredible, that such a Curiosity should be stifled and lost to the World for above a Century. To This my Answer is short; that tho' it never till now made its Appearance on the Stage, yet *one of the Manuscript Copies*, which I have, *is above Sixty Years' Standing* [the italics are mine] in the Handwriting of Mr. *Downes*, the famous Old Prompter; and, as I am credibly inform'd, was early in the Possession of the celebrated Mr. *Betterton*, and by Him design'd to have been usher'd into the World. What Accident prevented This Purpose of his, I do not pretend to know: Or thro' what Hands it had successively pass'd before that Period of Time. There is a Tradition (which I had from the Noble Person, who supply'd me with One of my Copies) that it was given by our Author, as a Present of Value, to a Natural Daughter of his, for whose Sake he wrote it, in the Time of his Retirement from the Stage. Two other Copies I have, etc. . . . Another Objection has been started . . . that the Tale of this Play, being built upon a Novel in *Don Quixot*, Chronology is against Us, and *Shakespeare* could not be the Author. But it happens that *Don Quixot* was publish'd in the Year 1611, and *Shakespeare* did not dye till April 1616, a sufficient Interval of Time for All that We want granted.

What a collection of old wives' tales! Three manuscript copies of an unknown play by Shakespeare: as if one were not wonderful enough, Theobald goes out and buys more copies; a tradition graciously supplied by an unmentioned "noble person" together with one copy; the play was given to a natural daughter by Shakespeare, as a present of value, the former being as improbable as the second is impossible, considering the worth of *Double Falsehood*. Downes, the prompter, d. 1710, in whose handwriting one of the copies was preserved, had been dead some seventeen years when the play appeared, and there is no evidence that the handwriting was submitted for

examination to those who doubted Theobald's word. Nor would any such examination have been conclusive, since even experts on handwritings disagree on the authenticity of a specific hand. Besides, there is a curious absence of other names connected with the story of these manuscripts; the whole legend of *Double Falsehood* has rested upon Theobald's assertion, and he mentions in connection with it only men like Downes and Betterton, long in their graves.

Now all critics of Shakespeare have always agreed that there is nothing of his in this play, and Theobald asserted (and perhaps he ought to know) that Fletcher had no hand in it. And how can we believe that three manuscript copies, based wholly or in part upon *The Adventures*, survived to be furbished up by Theobald for the stage, with all this hazy evidence about the manuscripts and the disagreement between Theobald and subsequent critics? Perhaps the conclusion of Churton Collins is the nearest to the truth after all, and the play was for the most part "from Theobald's own pen." He was certainly capable of writing a piece which is a manifest attempt to reproduce Shakespeare's language. What else are such absurd lines as: "Marry, now there is some Moral in his Madness" (p. 41), not to mention several others? If Croxall wanted to back Theobald's claim by printing the actual source of the play, in the hope that people would be led to believe that *Don Quixote* and not *The Adventures* was the real source, he made a mistake. Even the change of all of the names of the original could not always prevent people from comparing the three productions upon which this article is based.

The result of all our comparisons is, then, that *The Adventures* is directly taken from Shelton. When? Hardly immediately, else there would not have been the linguistic change; that in all probability it was done for Croxall, because the changes in incident and language are such as to make the story conform more closely to the taste of the later seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Moreover, to have been used by Fletcher, it must have been done before 1625, a thing so improbable that it may almost be called impossible. Therefore either the play is neither by Fletcher nor Shakespeare, or the play is not taken from *The Adventures on the Black Mountains*.

But it has been shown that there is a definite relation between the novel and the play, namely that the latter is based on the former, and thus belongs to the early eighteenth century. Against this there is nothing but Theobald's story, which convinces no one. And if Theobald hoodwinked the public, would he do it for the sake of someone else? That seems most unlikely. Therefore, in conclusion, if it cannot be proved that the revamped version of the romance of Cardenio entitled *The Adventures on the Black Mountains* was known at least sixty years (the age of the Downes manuscript) before the first appearance of the play, according to the evidence which remains, Theobald must have obtained a manuscript copy of the novel, possibly from the printer Watts. At all events, his name is the only one that can be definitely connected with the authorship of *Double Falsehood*.

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## NOTE ON DAS AND WAS

In the "Decennial Publications" of the University of Chicago (1902) there appeared an article by Professor Starr Willard Cutting "Concerning the Modern German Relatives *Das* and *Was*, in Clauses Dependent upon Substantivized Adjectives." Professor Cutting investigated the usage of Hauptmann, Heyse, Keller, Meyer, Nietzsche, Raabe, Schopenhauer, Spielhagen, Sudermann, and Wildenbruch, in all 7,368 pages of text.

In connection with some other investigations of Heine's grammatical usage the writer of the present article has also recorded his usage of *das* and *was* in clauses dependent upon substantivized adjectives, and offers the article as a contribution to the study of this question. All of Heine's prose works as contained in the Elster edition, in all 2,360 pages of text, have been examined and all the instances of his usage of *das* and *was* recorded.

Heine is above all a careful writer and a glance at his manuscript as prepared for the publishers shows very careful and painstaking correction. All through his writings we feel that he uses words with a full realization of their exact value and, in a question such as the one we are considering, we have good reason to believe that he reflects very well the usage of the first half of the nineteenth century.

For convenience in reference and comparison the cases found in Heine are divided as in Professor Cutting's article into the following groups:

I. *Was*-clauses:

- a) After superlatives (or *alles* or *einzig*).
- b) After positives or comparatives.

II. *Das*-(*welches*-) clauses:

- a) After superlatives (or *alles* or *einzig*).
- b) After positives or comparatives.

On pp. 20 and 21 of his article Professor Cutting states in summarized form the chief results of his investigation. As the usage of Heine does not in all respects agree with these results it will be interesting to study and note the exceptions which follow.

A condensed table is here given showing the number of instances of the usage in question in the authors investigated by Professor Cutting in comparison with the instances found in Heine.

|                        | <i>Was</i><br>Sup.<br>Ia | <i>Das</i><br>Sup.<br>IIa | <i>Was</i><br>Pos. and<br>Comp.<br>Ib | <i>Das</i><br>Pos. and<br>Comp.<br>IIb |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Nietzsche.....         | 9                        | 10                        | 4                                     | 33                                     |
| Schopenhauer.....      | 15                       | 10                        | 18                                    | 97                                     |
| All the remaining..... | 29                       | 4                         | 22                                    | 26                                     |
| Heine.....             | 18                       | 4                         | 12                                    | 22                                     |

|                        | <i>Was</i><br>Sup., Comp. and Pos.<br>Ia and Ib | <i>Das</i><br>Sup., Comp. and Pos.<br>IIa and IIb |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Nietzsche.....         | 13  | 43  |
| Schopenhauer.....      | 33  | 107   |
| All the remaining..... | 51  | 30  |
| Heine.....             | 30  | 26  |

Of the sixteen authors examined by Professor Cutting, in all 7,368 pages of text, two authors, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, furnish 4,413 pages—more than half of the material investigated. Professor Cutting himself states that these statistics suggest a correspondence of cause and effect between the critical analytic habit of mind and a strong preference for the relative *das*. While it is true that both of these men are good stylists, still they are first and last exact writers and would hardly hesitate to sacrifice a customary usage, if, by the use of some other relative word, they would be able to express their thought with greater precision and clearness.

If then we omit Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, the reverse ratio of almost 2 to 1 in favor of *das*-(*welches*-) as given in Professor Cutting's results will be changed again in favor of *was* by a ratio of 51 to 30. As the table shows the ratio in Heine is 30 to 26 in favor of *was*.

The superlative category alone shows a very decided preference for *was*, 29 to 4 in authors examined by Professor Cutting (omitting Nietzsche and Schopenhauer) and 18 to 4 in Heine.

In view of what has been noted here there hardly seems to be any justification in changing the rules of usage ordinarily accepted.

These rules are summarized very well in Professor Curme's *German Grammar* and are practically as follows:

If the antecedent is a substantivized adjective in the superlative degree, the relative usually employed is *was*. Earlier, *das* and *welches* were also used here. This older usage is still found, especially in more elevated diction. If the antecedent is a positive or comparative, *was* may be used, though *das* is in these cases usually employed. It is very possible that in these cases there is a difference between *das* and *was*, *das* referring to something more definite—more definite at least to the author. We cannot in these cases determine absolutely whether *das* or *welches* is used as a survival of the older usage to indicate something general or indefinite or whether it is used to refer to something definite.

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